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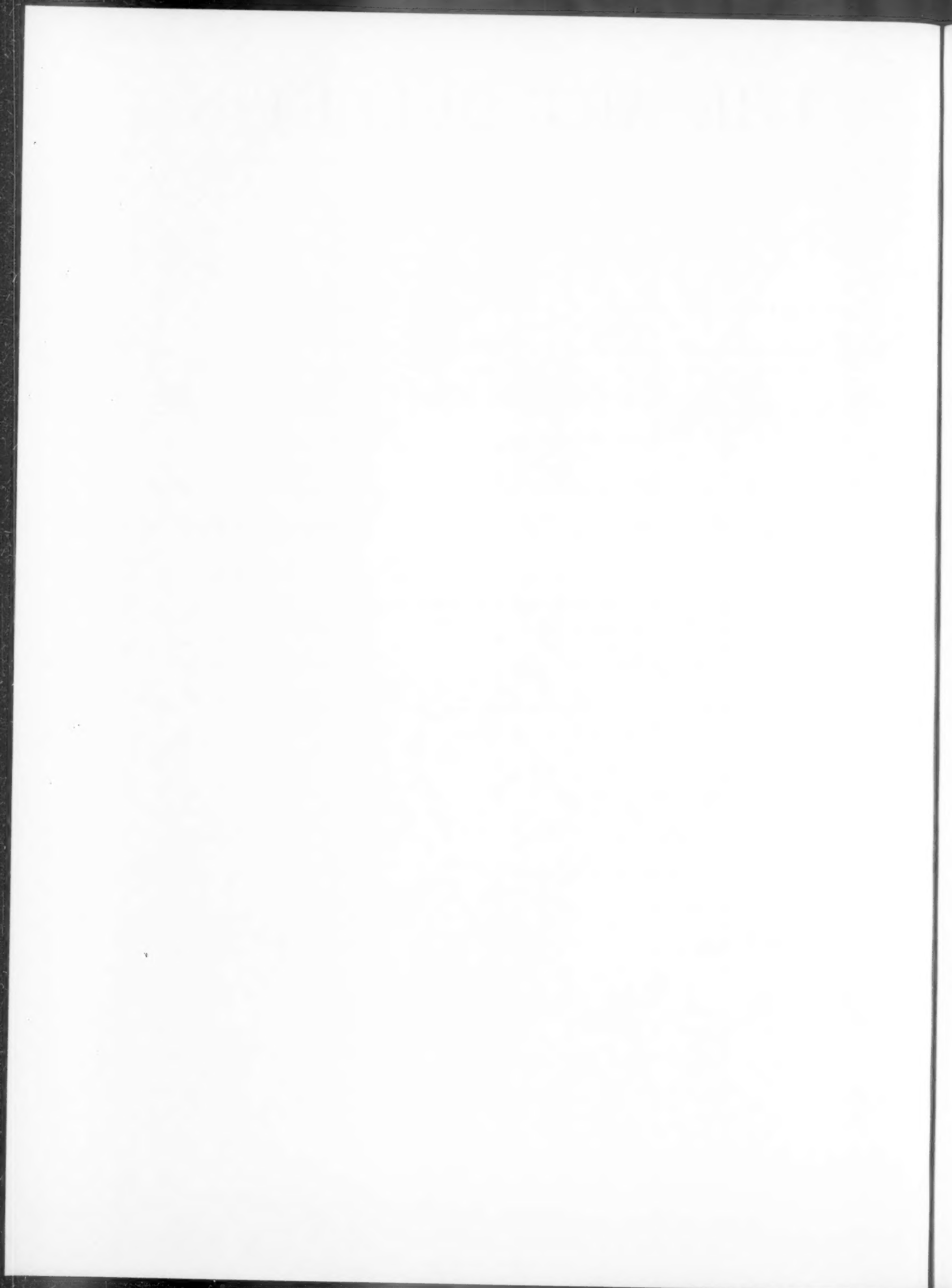
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GROUP DESIGN IN GREEK ARCHITECTURE

ROBERT SCRANTON

I. INTRODUCTION

ONE of the most important effects of an architectural design is that produced by a building in its relation to its setting, or to other buildings associated with it. This must have been true in ancient Greek architecture, as well as in any other style or period. But although some Greek sites, where entire sanctuaries or market places have been laid bare, have been discussed from this point of view, and a few studies of limited aspects of the problem have appeared, almost no thorough general study seems to be available.¹ Contributing to this situation is the fact that until recently, at least, few complexes of Greek buildings have been completely excavated, so that the information available is unfortunately limited; even now there is much to be discovered. Nevertheless, there is now enough evidence to provide the basis for an attempt to form a number of general conclusions as to the aesthetic and other principles underlying Greek group design, and it is the purpose of this paper to outline them.²

By way of introduction, we must first define a few basic terms. The problem of *group design* has two aspects, each with a different emphasis, and each individually striking in its own way. The first aspect is the *space form*:³ the shape and arrangement of the volumes created among themselves by the various buildings; the second aspect is the *block form*: the shape and arrangement of the buildings and monuments themselves. The space form has its own aesthetic effects depending in general on the impression of space or volume created, and in particular on whether the spaces are broad and open, long and receding, or possessed of various conflicting or complementary emphases and movements, or whether several volumes are created bearing some relation to each other. It can be appreciated only by seeing or visualizing the group in three dimensions. The block form produces its peculiar aesthetic effect depending on the character of the organization of masses and surfaces and their relation to one another or to the space; whether they constitute elements of a uniform pattern with emphases, balance, contrasts, and rhythm of subsidiary and principal parts; and whether there is meaning in the disposition of one type of building in relation to another, or of the lines and directions implied by one building in relation to another, or to the

1. An important exception is Wycherly's article, "The Ionian Agora," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LXII, 1942, pp. 21-32. A. R. Martienssen, in the *South African Architectural Record*, has had a series of articles on Greek architecture, culminating in "Space Construction in Greek Architecture" in May, 1942, which was brought to my attention by Professor F. P. Johnson of the University of Chicago. The article gives analyses of the plans of six sanctuaries, suggesting the different ways in which a given building would present itself to the spectator as he approached along the prescribed route. I have not seen, but should include K. A. Doxiades' *Raumordnung im griechischen Staedtebau*, Heidelberg, 1937, and R. E. Wycherly's *How the Greeks Built Cities*, 1949.

2. The production of this paper has proceeded over a considerable period of time, with many interruptions, and with the benefit of numerous ideas obtained from general reading and conversation. The original inspiration goes back to G. P. Stevens' "Periclean Entrance Court to the Acropolis," *Hesperia*, IV, 1936, pp. 443ff., although I had had some impulse to make a study on these lines even earlier. I have followed with interest

and profit Mr. Stevens' subsequent studies on the Acropolis (*Hesperia*, Supplement III, 1940; XI, 1942, pp. 351ff.; XII, 1943, pp. 135ff.; XV, 1946, pp. 1ff., and 73ff.). Probably, however, my greatest debt is to the advice and comments of Professors Richard Krautheimer and Adolf Katzenellenbogen of Vassar College, offered in connection with the preparation of my article "Interior Space in Greek Temple Architecture," *American Journal of Archaeology*, L, 1946, pp. 39ff. In the present paper I owe much to general suggestions made by them at that time, but have not had the opportunity to discuss the matter with them in particular relation to the present problems. I am grateful to Mr. Robert North of the Emory University Library for valuable suggestions toward making an intangible subject more or less objectively intelligible.

3. This is a matter usually considered only in connection with Roman architecture and with the recent period beginning in the seventeenth century. See Siegfried Giedion, *Space, Time, and Architecture*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1941.

topographical or other predetermined features. It is more easily apparent in plan and elevation, but also must be visualized in three dimensions.

These are two sides of a single problem, but they sometimes seem to be separate. It is possible to have a meaningful block form in plan, with no resulting perceptible space form, as in the case of a group of factory buildings laid out carefully for functional reasons but so closely built and connected that there is no point of view from which the spatial effects may be perceived by the eye. It is also possible to design a long row of buildings carefully in relation to one another in elevation, with aesthetically intended balances, emphases, and rhythms, but with the space before them so inchoate or narrow that it has little part in the total impression.

It is also theoretically possible to have space form without block form—at least, in our special meaning of the phrase. A single structure consisting of a central element with wings projecting forward from each side will create a courtyard that may have a very definite and even complex space form, producing a specific impression on the observer. A single building may be built as a hollow rectangle, and the inner area may be variously treated, with the aid of terraces and other devices, to create a fairly complicated space form of definite character. In both of these apparent exceptions, however, the seemingly ignored element has a place, even if it be small. Any arrangement of masses necessarily implies some recognition of space, if only to reject it, and a space form can be created only by the action of some mass, if only one. Therefore, it is fair to regard each exception as a logical extreme of group design. In sum, therefore, we may accept the terms *space form* and *block form* as referring to two different things, in extreme cases lacking important relation to each other, but remaining actually two aspects of the one problem of *group design*, which is that of creating an architectural scheme of one or more buildings in satisfactory relation to the surroundings. These surroundings may be predominantly spatial, or predominantly massive (i.e. other buildings), or equally divided but, except on paper, it would be impossible to design a building with no surroundings at all.⁴ The subject of this paper is, therefore, the complete design, so envisaged, although at times it will be necessary to take the view of the massive relationships, or block form; at others, of the spatial relationships, i.e. space form.

Finally, before entering the consideration of Hellenic group design, we should fix clearly in mind the modern predilections in these matters. In both space form and block form of group design we are accustomed to functional and aesthetic arrangements of similar or purposely contrasting buildings and spaces in meaningful relationships based on rational angles, lines, and proportions, and when rational relationships are impossible or undesirable, the irrationality must itself be meaningful and explicable. If many buildings are involved, there is an organization of central and subsidiary groups each with its own space form. Some attention is given the principles of perspective, and interesting or impressive views are arranged. Variety and relief, as well as emotional accents, are provided by landscaping which has an integral part in the whole design and is based on the same principles. The final object is an intelligible, formal unity among all the parts, based on a single dominant structure or theme.⁵

Accustomed to this kind of style in group design, when we view the apparently haphazard arrangement of buildings in many Greek sanctuaries and towns we naturally recoil with the rather astonished impression that there is no reason whatsoever behind them.⁶ It is worth while, however, to attain an open mind and try to see whether there may not be, after all, positive values in the Greek designs. To anticipate some of the conclusions of this study, we may say that on the one hand the Greeks knew and employed certain relatively simple types of space form, but that on

4. It is possible that an architect may, consciously or unconsciously, ignore the problem of group design in his plan, in that he may fail to take any consideration of the surroundings, but this does not eliminate the surroundings from playing their part in the total effect.

5. For a suggestive exposition of principles of design in architecture, see Howard Robertson, *Principles of Architectural Composition*, London, Architectural Press, 1924.

6. G. P. Stevens, *Hesperia*, v, 1936, p. 443.

the other hand many of their ideas of block form fell in a category distinctly different from our own but nevertheless possessed certain valuable qualities.

In our study we shall notice many known group designs of Greek buildings from the one point of view of their space form (for here we shall find much that has passed unremarked), trying first to identify the form. Then we shall review the various characteristics of block form, and then turn to their group design as a whole and try to determine the values achieved. Finally, we shall consider briefly the question of the extent to which our results may be considered the active principles of the Greek architect himself.

II. GREEK ELEMENTS OF GROUP DESIGN

Before we consider examples of design in particular, it is desirable to review the various devices available to the Greeks for creating group designs, particularly noting their effects in creating space form. Generally speaking these devices would be buildings, including houses, temples and similar structures, stoas, and miscellaneous structures; statues, terraces, walls, and topographical features or landscaping.

Among buildings, houses would not constitute an important element in group design, particularly among the Greeks. They had few mansions or palaces, and even these were fairly simple on the exterior. Nevertheless, it is true that important spaces, such as markets or even sanctuaries, were sometimes bounded only by rows of houses. But a Greek house, or rather a street of Greek houses, would have constituted a rather plain continuous wall broken by few doors and fewer windows, seldom more than two stories high. Thus as a bounding element it would have been plain and simple, but rather uniform and clear-cut.

Among more formal buildings the temple is of real significance, particularly the peripteral temple, for such a building demands and implies a spatial environment on all sides, since each face is equally a front, or at least an approach. It is not like a post-classical building, or even a purely Roman temple on a podium approached only from the front, for in such buildings there is a strong emphasis on specially indicated entrances and their approaches, while the sides and rear might be blanked out by close or even contiguous buildings. By contrast, a Greek peripteral temple cannot be imagined as other than in a free space. It has a uniform exterior, with accents front and rear, but with the side colonnades clearly leading around the structure and joining one end to the other; there is no place for other buildings to abut against it. Moreover, the colonnades are in a very real sense felt as transitions from the exterior space on all sides, to the building itself. They mark, without fully enclosing, a volume within which the cella stands, and provide a half-indoor, half-outdoor space between the cella and the exterior. The pattern of shadows cast by the columns against the wall emphasizes the enclosure of the interior solid by a surrounding element whose volume has a sense of interpenetration with the exterior space. The steps surrounding the structure add to the sense of transition. Thus a Greek temple alone, with no other architectural feature in sight, like the temple at Segesta today, generates a concept of spatial relationships more vividly than would a walled building on the same site, and predisposes the observer to accept indications of spatial formulations even though the other elements of the design are relatively insignificant. Finally, the horizontal lines of steps and entablature and the broad band of verticals represented by the columns produce constant and characteristic rhythms and directions that may be usefully employed in setting up relationships with other buildings.

Non-peripteral temples and buildings such as treasuries will of course have different effects. Here the emphasis of the entrance is dominant and the effect of a single focus is unavoidable. Even so, the absence of elevated podium, the continuity of base-steps and entablature elements along the sides, preserve some sense of accessibility on all sides and provide a slight stimulus to the

concept of the building in the round and in space; the colonnaded porch has some of the effect of transition from interior to exterior space which we have already remarked. Finally, as in the case of any façade distinguished as an entrance, there is the implication of a space before it from which it may be approached.

The most important type of building for defining spatial effects is the stoa. This is essentially an extremely simple structure consisting of a long wall with a row of columns in front of it, the space between wall and columns being covered by a roof. There are numerous varieties and elaborations of the type, but all are essentially the same. Many stoas (how many, because of the form of most publications, it is difficult to tell) include as part of their design a terrace or walk defined in some way and running along the whole length of the building. Thus the colonnade, steps, and terrace create an impression of space in unfolding stages.

The façade of the stoa itself also contributes effectively to the organization of the entire space before it. In the first place, the length of the building establishes a base line for any open space in front, defining the length and one side. At the same time the expanse of the façade implies the cross direction, as it looks across the space. The entablature and the roof line give height, while the details of the steps, order, and entablature imply horizontal planes running across the space and giving it structural form. Finally, the columns and details of entablature establish a rhythm with measured subdivisions to relieve the monotony of the defining lines.

The entire effect of a temple in a space defined by a stoa has a spatial complexity that is concealed by its simplicity. The stoa defines the total space, which is divided into the volume of the temple, that of the open area, and that of the stoa itself. The colonnade and steps of the temple provide transitional elements from the core of the building to the open space; the terrace, steps, and colonnade of the stoa provide similar transition to the ultimate bounding wall of the stoa. This latter, of course, is understood rather than perceived and felt directly. The colonnades of stoa and temple respond to one another by their similar rhythms, the details of the orders reflecting each other. The space almost seems to expand from the temple to the stoa, where it penetrates the stoa columns only to repeat the process beginning at the stoa wall. The horizontal lines of the stoa establish the height of the basic volume, out of which the temple rises into the open air above. Depending on the various particular impressions achieved by varying proportions and directions established, other effects would be created, but these would be present in all.

Among other Greek buildings there is so little uniformity that it is difficult to generalize in terms of types; the various particular effects may be noted as they are encountered. The most important type of civic building would be the council hall, usually a rectangular building with relatively plain walls. Theaters and stadia are of only limited importance in spatial considerations. The gymnasium scarcely figures at all in the problem, since its spatial effects are largely interior and its size precludes its participation in ordinary groups.

Statues, however, are of great importance. An individual statue would have a very limited effect, to be sure, but the incessant activity of Greek sculptors soon populated most open areas with an effective number of figures. These had inevitably to be placed in some kind of mutual arrangement. Either they were in rows, thus defining lines and directions, not only by the scheme of their alignment, but by the direction in which they faced; or they could have been massed in groups of some geometrical design (which usually they were not), or they could have been scattered over an area more or less indiscriminately, with the effect of emphasizing the scale of the area and its capacity for containing things—i.e. its volume. Occasionally, to be sure, they were erected arbitrarily and alone on the steps of some building or along some wall; here again their spatial significance would be slight, although they would contribute to the sense of scale.

In the hilly land of Greece terracing was a significant element in any architectural display. Here three elements are involved: the retaining wall on the up-hill side, establishing a strong base

line and background; the retaining wall on the down-hill side, establishing the width of the area less emphatically; and the surface of the terrace itself, constituting the base of the area and establishing the proportions of length and breadth.

The Greeks do not seem to have employed enclosing walls per se in a very conscious way. The wall enclosing a sanctuary or other area, in the absence of buildings to serve the purpose, would be rather slight; there seems to be little evidence as to their size, but to say that few exceeded ten feet in height, and many were less, would probably be safe. This does not take into account groups designed in relation to regular fortifications, which are relatively rare. Thus the wall itself would normally only suggest definition and would have been weaker as an aesthetic force than the other elements. On the other hand, the gates in the walls would have had a definite psychological implication. They would suggest at once the transition from one volume to another, and while optically they would have had comparatively slight effect, psychologically they would have been meaningful.

In somewhat the same way a well-defined road would have had a significant psychological effect. It would imply at once movement and direction, and hence space. The sense of space created would be vaguely defined, but it would be effective in very definite ways.

Finally there is the matter of topography and landscaping, which are of prime importance in modern planning. First, as to topographical considerations in Greek design, it is so difficult to form any conclusions that we must practically dismiss the question. Hellenic lands abound in dramatic and effective natural locations for the display of buildings; of these many were utilized, and others were ignored while less appropriate places were chosen. Furthermore, in view of the rigid tradition of type forms of building, we find no variation in design that could be related to differences in natural setting. A sloping site would, of course, demand terracing, but for practical reasons. The Greeks probably had specific reasons for locating their buildings, quite apart from topography, and in most cases the topography makes its contribution unasked.

Landscaping is quite another thing. Little is known about plantings around Greek buildings. Many were located in groves, and one late Greek planting around the Hephaisteion in Athens has been studied.⁷ This example is formal and simple, but can hardly serve as a basis for generalization. There seems to be no way of knowing how important planting could have been, and, regretfully, we shall have to ignore the subject.

III. GREEK TYPES OF SPACE FORM

From the survey above, it is clear that the Greeks had the means to plan and execute a fair variety of group designs. They could have created varied and complex space forms, and had a sufficient variety of buildings to make possible a number of different schemes. We may now undertake a survey of their architectural complexes, first from the point of view of space form. We shall begin with those in which it is clear that the spatial aspect of design was ignored or even avoided; then consider what might be described as informal spatial designs; and afterwards proceed to more formal arrangements. It should be emphasized that the "types" to be considered are not clear-cut or constant; our whole subject is too nebulous for exact definition. We are concerned primarily with generalized effects, and the "classification" refers to these effects, not to systems or standardized forms of construction.

A. SPACE FORM IGNORED

The fact that the Greeks erected a considerable number of buildings in which the spatial factor was ignored need hardly be pressed. Perhaps the most significant point one can make about buildings without designed spatial settings is that they occur throughout Greek history, even in the

7. D. B. Thompson, "The Garden of Hephaistos," *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 396-425.

Hellenistic period, when, it is usually implied, group design and space form were consciously studied.

For the classical period we need point only to a few examples, such, perhaps, as the Erechtheum, where it is clear that the whole arrangement including the location of the building was determined by the practical needs of the cult. Even in the Erechtheum there is some recognition of space; the North Porch recognizes the spatial entity along that side, however narrow and unformed; the west façade acknowledges a spatial entity stretching before it. Nevertheless it is clear that the architect had to struggle to adapt the building to cult needs. Particularly does he seem careless of the relation of the scale of parts of the building to the space they dominate; the north porch takes its scale from the building and is evidently crowded in the narrow area below the Acropolis wall. Among secular examples of the fifth century, the Odeion of Pericles may point to a similar attitude.⁸ Although it is incompletely excavated, it seems apparent that it was squeezed between the slope of the Acropolis and the street of the tripods, leading to the theater, and it is difficult to see how any spatial setting could have been arranged for it, or indeed how any noteworthy block form could have been designed to include it and its sole contemporary neighbors, the few and scattered buildings of the Theater of Dionysos. In the following century, still in Athens, the Temple of Apollo Patroos was erected south of the Stoa of Zeus (Fig. 1); its façade aligned with that of the Stoa, to be sure, but there was no other evident formal relationship. Close between it and the Stoa was the tiny Temple of Zeus and Athena. The three buildings are located conveniently to the road in front, neatly in line, but with no preserved indication of any feeling of spatial relationship among them. Again, in the fourth century, the Pompeion in the Dipylon was fitted tightly between the walls of the Dipylon and the Sacred Gate, and could hardly have been approached, or even seen, from any space but the irregular square in front of it and the Dipylon.⁹

Proceeding to the Hellenistic period, we may note particularly that such a building as the Ekklesiasterion at Priene (Fig. 7) would be important and useful aesthetically and functionally in any modern conception of grouping public buildings, but at Priene it is made simply to occupy an entire residential block. It is surrounded by narrow streets, and is entered apparently through a door in the rear of a stoa facing on the agora. This is true of many civic buildings of the Hellenistic period, perhaps of most of them. The agoras were uniformly surrounded by stoas and the other civic buildings were tucked into the background. It is also true of a few religious buildings, such, for example, as the temple in the north market at Miletus (Fig. 6).¹⁰ Here the U-shaped stoa, as Wycherly remarks,¹¹ makes a fine forecourt for the temple, it is true; but the temple itself has no spatial environment on any of its sides; it is completely absorbed by the stoa and constitutes little more, architecturally speaking, than an accent in the façade of the stoa itself.

It is thus clear that some important buildings were erected at all periods with little or no feeling for their spatial environment. It may even be said that some represent a purposeful avoidance of the problem of spatial design; this is exemplified strikingly by the colonnade constructed across the front of the Metroon and Old Bouleuterion in Athens in the Hellenistic period, effacing the identity of the two buildings, and hiding them behind a single façade (Fig. 1). Nor are the buildings so disposed as to achieve any particular effect of block form. The sole apparent reason for their particular location would be that of convenience, regardless of aesthetic considerations.

B. INFORMAL SPATIAL GROUPS

Complete lack of spatial feeling, on the other hand, is rare, and we may now consider a number of Greek designs, which, although they are so devoid of modern characteristics of group design that it may seem exaggeration to attribute to them any design at all, do have a real space form,

8. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², pp. 306f., fig. 39.

9. Judeich, *op.cit.*, p. 136, fig. 10.

10. Von Gerkan, *Milet*, I, vi, pp. 88f., pl. xxiv.

11. *J.H.S.*, LXII, 1942, p. 24.

however inchoate and casual. An example of this, in the archaic period, would be the sanctuary proper at Aegina (Fig. 16), where the temple stands in an irregular area enclosed only by a slight wall entered by a gate near one corner. As we have noted, however, the very existence of the gate inevitably suggests to the observer something to be entered, i.e. a volume or space. The fact that the form of this space is irregular and lacks any formal reason for being so, may strike us as faulty aesthetically, but the space is none the less real. To complete the picture we must imagine the area as it was originally, with the road leading to the temple, the altar before the temple, and the surrounding area indiscriminately filled with statues and other dedications. In this there is apparent organization of a kind. Within the irregular space there is a temple whose columns imply the relation of the formal building to the informal space; the ramp in front of the temple makes a clear link with the altar, and thus formulates a unit of the main elements and establishes a major axis. The path from the gate to this unit is an eccentric, casual line, but an important one, as it marks the main line of movement through the space. The statues and small monuments fill the remaining area, emphasizing the basic volume in the same way that irregularly spaced trees of various species create a homogeneous mass which is a grove.

The same kind of space form characterizes even so large and important a sanctuary as that of Apollo at Delphi (Fig. 12), not only in the archaic period but throughout its history. Its shape, to be sure, was slightly more regular, its surrounding wall was higher, it could be conceived as a complex sanctuary with the great temple terrace as an inner volume which the rest of the sanctuary enclosed. There were, moreover, numerous small buildings within the sanctuary which could have been arranged in formal patterns or in some formally calculated relationship. Actually, however, the block form seems completely disorganized, and the space form very informal. There is a slight enclosure emphasized by a gate; at one corner is a road approaching the temple; the area as a whole is filled almost indiscriminately with statues and architectural monuments. The arrangement of the monuments rests on only one logical basis, obvious though it may seem: they are all erected close along some road or path, each so as to attract the greatest possible attention in view of the conditions when it was built. No city, on building a treasury, would have been willing for its monument to serve simply as one element of a group, as a foil or supporting piece for another's dedication. Each was built as well and as richly as the city could afford, and was located as conspicuously as possible. The prime object in its location was to emphasize its individuality. In short, the building is not so much arranged with relation to other buildings as with relation to itself alone, or, practically speaking, to the road near it.

This same informal arrangement is apparent in examples from every period. In the fifth century the Hephaisteion (Fig. 1) may serve as one, scarcely differing from the Sanctuary of Aphaia at Aegina, except that the gate, if any, was less monumental. The approach, as it developed during the fourth and later centuries, acquired a certain spaciousness, rising above the agora between the Temple of Apollo Patroos and the Metroon, but it was not formal; it is simply the area left between the buildings flanking it, when each had been finished in its own terms. Among secular buildings of the fifth century, the complex of Old and New Bouleuterions and the Tholos shows no indication of designed aesthetic interrelationship, but chiefly a definite interest in having three functionally related buildings as close together as possible and as near to the agora as possible.

In the fourth century the Sanctuary of Athena Polias at Priene (Fig. 7) has few formal aspects, consisting only of an approximately rectangular area in which is a temple and an altar, and a number of monuments lined up along the rear of a stoa facing the opposite direction from the temple. In the Hellenistic period so ambitious a structure as the Altar of Zeus at Pergamum (Fig. 2) stands on a broad flat terrace, barren of architectural embellishment and irregular in shape; whether there were statues in the area, the published drawings do not indicate.

In these and many other examples it is clear that a spatial feeling exists, but that it is not or-

ganized systematically, and is very informal. In most developed cases numerous small monuments would create a sense of population within the space; that is, it would not be simply an empty area, but a place full of objects, various and interesting, providing life and vitality. Although there would be no formal "view" or spectacle and little sense of organization, there would be an optimum of convenience and there would be a clear emphasis on the passage to the main objective.

C. FORMAL SPACE FORMS

Let us now turn to the consideration of formal group designs, among which there is actually a considerable variety with many examples. These may be classified—again from the point of view of space form—into *simple* (single) and *complex* (multiple-space) volumes. The simple forms may in turn be classified into those characterized by a *base line*, which in turn may be *straight* or *angled*, and those characterized by *enclosure*, which may be *open* or *complete*.

1. Simple Space Forms

Straight Base Line. Frontal Type. Considering first the simple forms characterized by a straight base line, we may still further subdivide into three groups: the *frontal type*, in which the base line establishes a broad backdrop for a generalized space before it; the *longitudinal type*, in which the base line emphasizes a direction or approach to the principal structure; and the *transverse type*, in which a strong minor axis at right angles to the base line is set up at its center, or uniformly along its expanse.

One of the earliest examples of the frontal type would be the late sixth and fifth century form of the sanctuary at Olympia (Fig. 13). Here the treasury terrace with its row of small buildings all facing south would have constituted a formal backdrop against the relatively amorphous mass of Mt. Cronius, serving as a base line for the sweep of the sanctuary space before them. The Heraeum might almost have made the form angled, were it not for the fact that its axis lies almost on the line of the front of the treasuries, so that it actually reinforces their limiting effect, rather than introducing a new cross direction.

In the fifth century the stoa across the north side of the sanctuary at Sounion¹² acts as an effective boundary to the temple area, particularly establishing an internal segment of the entire area between it and the temple. In the Hellenistic period the whole form of the great sanctuary at Delos (Fig. 9) must have been transformed by the construction of the Stoa of Antigonus, which at once established the main dimensions of the entire area and brought unity to it as well as a higher degree of feeling for the space rolling out before it.

Among secular buildings the fifth century stoa in the Lechaem Road district at Corinth¹³ in all probability served as one boundary, perhaps the only formal boundary, of an early agora. So far as is known, there were no other important buildings associated with it, and we may assume that the spatial note was set by the stoa as a base line with the implications it had for the space before it. After the fourth century B.C. at Corinth (Fig. 11) also, the South Stoa would have dominated the entire space graded downward from it to form the new agora; in this huge area the small monuments would be wholly absorbed, and it is almost certain that at that time no other monumental buildings existed to detract from the major relationship of the space to the stoa.

Similarly, in Hellenistic Delos the Hypostyle Hall (Fig. 9) must have given definite form to the otherwise irregular space between it and the quai, in the vast if simple rectangular form it creates. The effect of the smaller structures before it cannot be estimated in the absence of information as to their date or scale. Assuming that they existed at the time of the Hypostyle Hall, if they were low, they would have been to some extent lost in the space, although whatever their scale

12. Stais, "Sounion," *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς*, 1900, p. 120.

13. R. Stillwell, *Corinth*, I, 1, 1932, p. 212.

they would have introduced certain subdivisions into the square, exhibiting the familiar oddity of Greek planning—the lack of rational angles in their arrangement.

Straight Base Line. Longitudinal Type. As to the single base line in longitudinal position, emphasizing the approach to the structure, the first good example does not appear until the latter part of the fifth century in Athens, in the Asklepieion (Fig. 17). Here there is a stoa occupying most of the length of the sanctuary on one side, with the temple at one end facing up the narrow area in front of the stoa. To some degree this might be felt as an angled base line, but the dominant effect would probably be of a narrow area leading up to the temple. The actual base line is the axis of the temple; the stoa merely reinforces this. A similar arrangement appears in the fourth century, or possibly Hellenistic, form of the Amphiaraeum at Oropos,¹⁴ and in the Sanctuary of Despoina at Lykosoura (Fig. 18). Somewhat similar would be the Thesmophorion at Pergamum, where one side is marked by a stoa, the other by a flight of steps serving as seats for spectators. Among secular groups of buildings, the agora at Assos (Fig. 5) would be an example, with a rather more balanced arrangement of one large stoa on one side and a lower stoa on the other, emphasizing the passage between the buildings at each end of the agora. For obvious reasons this kind of form is most natural on a hillside site on a narrow terrace, but it is also the underlying form of the Hellenistic colonnaded streets represented in embryonic form by the Stoa of Philip at Delos (Fig. 9) and its neighbor facing it across the entrance to the great sanctuary.

Straight Base Line. Transverse Type. In the longitudinal form just described the important accent is along the length of an oblong area; in what we might call the transverse form an important accent is set up across an oblong area as well by the façades of one or more buildings facing across it. This would be true in a less organized way of the Sanctuary of Athena Pronaia at Delphi,¹⁵ throughout its history, for here the essential form is a long narrow rectangle indicated by the terracing with at first one but later several buildings constructed against the upper retaining wall and facing across the narrow terrace. The same feeling is true of the Naxian lions at Delos (Fig. 9), whose individual accent is at cross directions to that of the row which they constitute as a group. It also appears wherever there is an important building alone, or a close-set row of two or three buildings, facing across a road or narrow area projecting distinctly beyond the limits of the architectural group, as is the case in the large sanctuary at Delos, where the temple and its later neighbor and successor are built facing the road through the sanctuary.

The most striking examples of this type do not appear until the fourth century, when for example the so-called Metroon at Colophon (Fig. 4) gives us an excellent specimen, the base line being supplied by the long rock-cut terrace, the cross accent by the structure built against the middle of this terrace and facing across it. The projected plan for the late fourth century arrangement of stoas on the Pnyx (Fig. 10) is a modification of the same idea; the two stoas are at an angle to one another, so that the base line is not actually straight, but the axis of the assembly place impinging near the angle of the stoas is on the same principle. In the Hellenistic period there are several well-developed examples, as the Sanctuary of the Syrian Gods at Delos, where the small theater establishes a cross accent at the center, and the Sanctuary of Hera Basileia at Pergamum, facing across the upper gymnasium terrace.

Angled Base Line. These, then, are the types resulting from the establishment of a straight base line; we may now consider those forms resulting from an L-shaped arrangement, or two base lines at nearly right angles to one another, formed by a group of buildings or even a single building. In such an arrangement an oblong area is defined, and at the same time the façade of each arm

14. Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, 1913, II p. 467. 15. R. E. Wycherly, *Pausanias* (Loeb), v, pl. 27.

of the L-boundary establishes a directional emphasis at right angles to itself, intersecting somewhere in the area.

This scheme appears rather early, for example in the outer court of the sixth century Sanctuary of Aphaia at Aegina, as well as in its fifth century successor (Fig. 16).¹⁶ The dominant base line is the axis of the larger propylon, while the house of the priests establishes the shorter axis in the direction it faces. At Olympia (Fig. 13) during the fourth century the Echo Colonnade¹⁷ was built along the east side of the sanctuary at approximately right angles to the treasury terrace; this created at once a new sort of form, with two sides of the area fully defined and directional axes intersecting in the middle. A similar effect is produced in the later fifth century Sanctuary of Dionysos at Athens (Fig. 19) below the orchestra, where the stoa gives the long base line and transverse accent; the temple the short base line and longitudinal accent. A more formal but complicated example is the Sanctuary of Artemis at Delos (Fig. 9)¹⁸ where the two base lines are formed by an L-shaped stoa within which stands the temple. A fourth century secular example is the harbor market at Miletus (Fig. 8), where again an L-shaped stoa organizes the entire space. Another L-shaped market is at Colophon (Fig. 4), and in Hellenistic Corinth a small stoa projecting at approximately right angles to the façade of Peirene created a similar effect in the court before the fountain.

Open Enclosures. These examples suffice to indicate the nature of the angled space form, and we turn now to those types emphasizing some degree of enclosure. In the examples thus far considered, the focal unity has been a direction or movement to or from some building or buildings, or place. An entirely different impression is created when the elements are arranged to concentrate on the enclosed space itself. For practical purposes we shall distinguish between the *open* enclosure, where there is a unity to the enclosing elements on three sides, and the *complete* enclosure, where the four sides are uniformly built.

The earliest form of what we are calling open enclosure is, perhaps remarkably, the seventh or sixth century plan of the Heraeum at Samos. Here the earliest stoa known anywhere (Fig. 14)¹⁹ forms the long side of the enclosure, the temple and the Lygos form projecting wings at each end, enclosing the space in front of the stoa. In a sense the stoa might be considered a processional element, but leading as it does from the Lygos to the *side* of the temple, the processional effect is minimized, and the stronger impression would be of a partially enclosed space. The first known developed example is the Sanctuary of Artemis Brauron on the Acropolis (Fig. 15),²⁰ which in its Cimonian period consisted of a U-shaped building of stoa form. Before the space element thus created lay a triangular area between it and the road from the Propylaea to the Parthenon; later the east side of this area was bounded by a stoa continuing the east wing of the original building, and creating an essentially complex space composed of a rectangle and a triangle.

The most highly refined examples of the open enclosure type of form in Greek architecture are the "Ionian Agoras" of the fourth century and later. These, as Wycherly has defined them,²¹ consist basically of a U-shaped stoa (or two L-shaped stoas arranged so as to enclose an area on three sides) and usually a street across the open end. Frequently there is a more distinguished stoa across the street on the fourth side. This is the form of the main agoras at Miletus (Fig. 6), Priene (Fig. 7), Magnesia (Fig. 8), and elsewhere. It may be worth while to summarize some of the detailed characteristics. In the first place, the sides defined by the U-shaped stoas are substan-

16. G. Welter, *Aegina*, Berlin, 1938, pp. 65, 70-71, figs. 56, 59-60.

17. F. Kunze, and Hans Weber, *A.J.A.*, LII, 1948, pp. 490ff.

18. In *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, XLIV, 1921, the L-shaped stoa at the northeast corner of the sanctuary is dated (pp. 239-240) around the end of the sixth century; the large hall facing across it in the fifth (pp. 210-212). The

complex of temple and L-shaped stoa behind the hall are dated in the third century (pp. 215-218).

19. Buschor, *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, LV, 1930, pp. 22ff.

20. Stevens, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 459ff.

21. *J.H.S.*, LXII, 1942, pp. 24ff.

tially uniform. No dominant accent is given to any part of them; if there are entrances or gates leading through them, these points are not necessarily symmetrical or notably emphasized. The area is definitely considered as open at one end; the main entrances are by a road running along here, and if there is a large stoa beyond the road it is of a different character, not symmetrically arranged in relation to the U-shaped stoas. Such a stoa frequently has the effect of dominating the whole design by its size or elevated position, but is an extra element, beyond the line of the real boundary of the space. These two elements, however, the U-shaped stoa and the crossing stoa, if any, are the entire architectural system of the agora. Any other buildings are concealed behind them. There may, of course, be a considerable number of monuments, or even, as at Magnesia (Fig. 8) a temple inside the area, but these are strictly subordinate, and within the broad simplicity of the stoa-defined space they are arranged diffusely along the main lines of traffic.

This striking form is not so common as might be supposed among sanctuaries, but there are some examples with slight variations. The sanctuary of Zeus (Asklepios) at Priene (Fig. 7) might be so considered, with its two stoas facing each other and bounding the long sides of the sanctuary, and the temple façade almost filling the third side. The fourth side with its gate, of course, is enclosed by a wall, but the effect of this would be negligible in the face of the columnar monuments on the other sides. In a way, this sanctuary might be considered one of the longitudinal type, but it is so nearly square that the processional effect or the impression of length would probably not be strong. More closely in keeping with the spirit of the Ionian agora would be the Hellenistic form of the Delphinion at Miletus (Fig. 6, upper left).²²

Complete Enclosure. Multiple Component. Turning now to the type of space form characterized by a sense of complete enclosure, we must distinguish between those examples in which there are several distinct but relatively uniform elements, and those in which the entire space is surrounded by a continuous single structure. The reason for the distinction will appear shortly; to clarify it we may first describe a few examples.

Perhaps the first example of a complete enclosure of multiple components would be the archaic Sanctuary of Herakles at Thasos.²³ Along the back (Fig. 20) is a long building and on the left a hexastyle temple, both of the sixth century. In that century there may have been only a single "treasury" on the right, but by the fourth century others had appeared and then been replaced by a series of rooms behind a colonnade. Across the front was a flight of steps, with a gate in the center. Thus there was created a clear-cut square surrounded effectively on all sides.

Another early example of complete enclosure is the terrace with the fifth century temple of the Argive Heraeum (Fig. 21). Most of the buildings involved appear to be as early as the fifth century. Here we have a space indicated in general by the terrace. On this stands the temple. The stoas north and south of the temple, supplemented by the terrace walls and steps on those sides, develop the sense of enclosure. The building to the west plays a part difficult to ascertain, in the absence of information as to its original height, but some indication of termination at that end is probably to be assumed. The eastern end of the area was enclosed in the fourth century by the so-called Telesterion; earlier dispositions there are uncertain.²⁴

It is possible that a very informal sense of complete enclosure would have been felt in relation to the treasuries and other buildings north and east of the temple at Delos (Fig. 9), arranged along the curving road. Together with the Oikos of the Naxians on the south, and possibly some structures on the west, they would have had the effect of enclosing the space where the temples stand. But all this is rather doubtful, and actually the main interest attaching to the arrangement is that the treasuries are laid out on a curve, a thing almost unique in Greek architecture.

22. Kawerau, *Milet*, I, iii, pp. 125-141, pl. IV.

23. M. Launey, *Etudes Thasiennes*, I: "Le Sanctuaire et le culte d'Héraklès à Thasos," Paris, 1944.

24. E. L. Tilton, in Charles Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, 1902, I, pp. 112-136.

Among secular groupings the Hellenistic versions of the "old fashioned" agoras would be typical of this form. At Athens (Fig. 1), which may be taken as one of the few well-known examples of this kind of grouping, buildings were added from time to time around the sides of the market until the whole area was surrounded. Usually the buildings are stoas, and frequently a single stoa occupies an entire side. It is perhaps worth while to point out that these exclude all other buildings from the periphery of the area, where possible, and we may recall that the Old Bouleuterion and the Metroon were screened out by a single colonnade. Of course, the process of unification is not complete, but the tendency is significant. In any case, from the point of view of the spatial design there is a feeling for a single space, surrounded on all sides equally by buildings no one of which forms a dominant accent. There is no definite distinction between one of the sides and the other three, as in the Ionian agora. The enclosure is complete, though the enclosing elements are separated and loosely connected. It may be assumed that numerous other agoras had this character, but in point of fact it is difficult to find any among published studies. The agora at Megalopolis (Fig. 3) may well have had this form, unless the stoa of Philip was so outstanding as to dominate the space in some special way.

Complete Enclosure. Single Component. Complete enclosures, on the other hand, formed by a single uniform defining element are peculiarly rare. The sanctuary of Asklepios at Corinth,²⁵ in its fourth century form completely surrounded by a shallow colonnade, is an exception, as is the peristyle behind the harbor market at Miletus (Fig. 6).²⁶ Wycherly has made a rather convincing point that really complete enclosure, as typified by the Agora of the Italians at Delos (Fig. 9, upper left) and the Roman Market at Athens, is a Roman phenomenon, not Greek. In contrast, the Ionian agora is essentially open all along one side, and the "old-fashioned" agora, even when completely enclosed, is left with a feeling of easy and frequent ingress and egress by the fact that the enclosing elements are discontinuous and separated by passages at numerous important points.

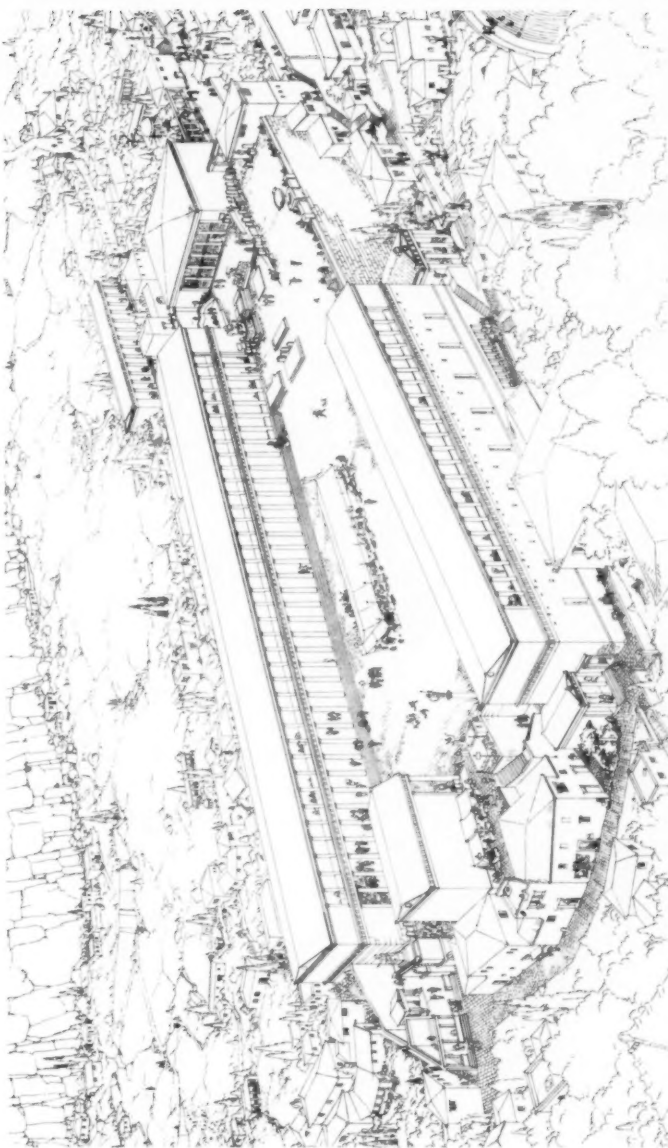
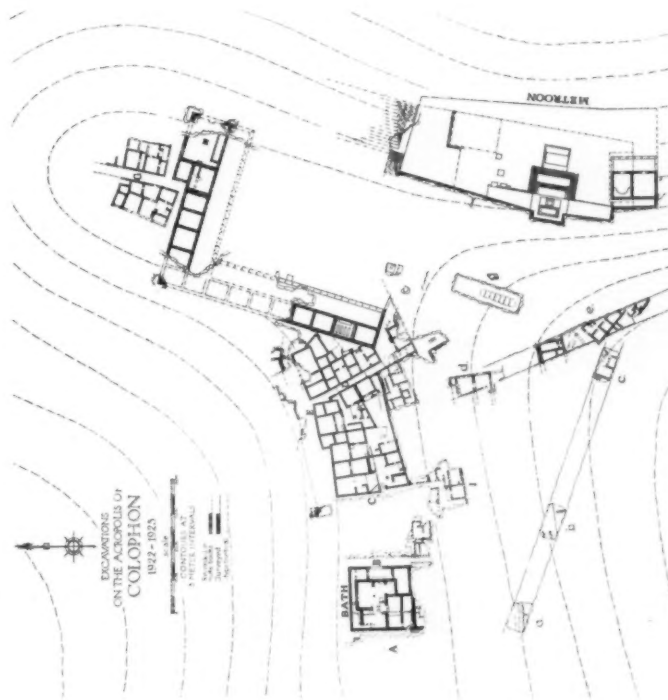
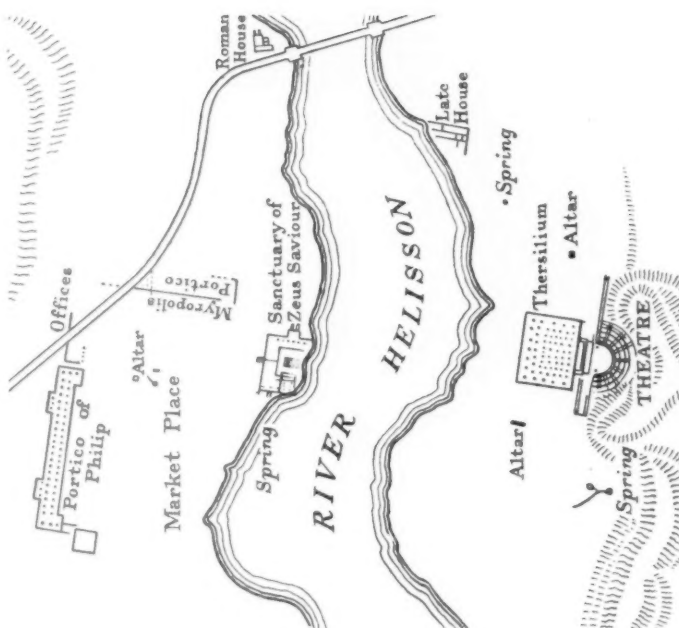
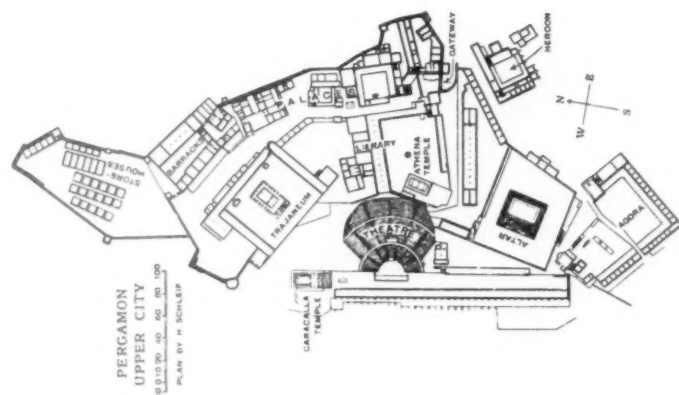
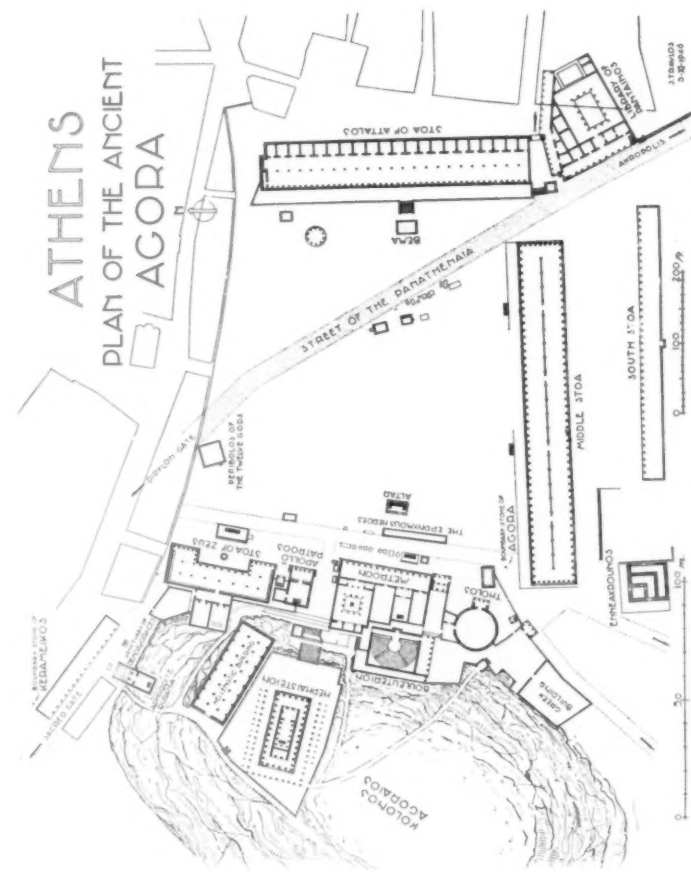
2. Complex Space Forms

With the above paragraph we conclude the survey of simple space forms; we should now observe that some group designs include more than one group, each arranged in its own simple form, but all combining to create a single complex form. This would be true to some extent of almost every sanctuary with an entrance court, of which numerous examples are known, and many others, not fully explored, doubtless exist. One of the earliest of these would be the sanctuary at Aegina (Fig. 16), with its outer court communicating with the temple area itself. The sanctuary at Eleusis, from earliest times throughout its history, preserved the two entities of its arrangement. Among the known examples of what might be called the traditional type, like Aegina and Eleusis, there seems to be little indication of formal relationship between the two elements. The one characteristic which seems common is that there is no axial or symmetrical relationship; the connecting portals are usually in corners, or at irrational places on the side or end.

When the topography demanded terracing, a greater degree of formality seems to enter the design. The entrance court to the Parthenon, for example, was entered by a propylon approximately centered at one end (Fig. 15); the transition to the Parthenon area itself was effected by a great flight of steps comprising most of one side of the entrance court, and approximately at right angles to the axis of the Parthenon. The Argive Heraeum is an even more elaborate example of the terraced complex; unfortunately the lowest and highest terraces are not sufficiently well preserved or excavated to permit an informative analysis, but it is clear that the steps from the lowest to the center terrace were important and were impressively conceived. It may be noted that

25. De Waele, *A.J.A.*, xxxvii, 1933, pp. 424ff., and Carl Roebuck of the University of Chicago by letter.

26. Von Gerkan, *Milet*, I, vi, pl. xxiii, pp. 88ff.



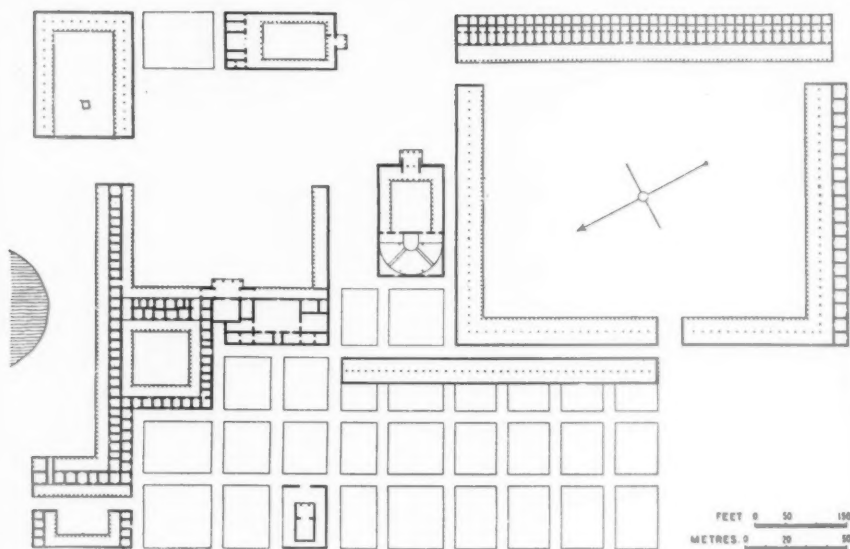


FIG. 6. Agora at Miletus (*J.H.S.*, LXII, 1942, p. 23, fig. 2)

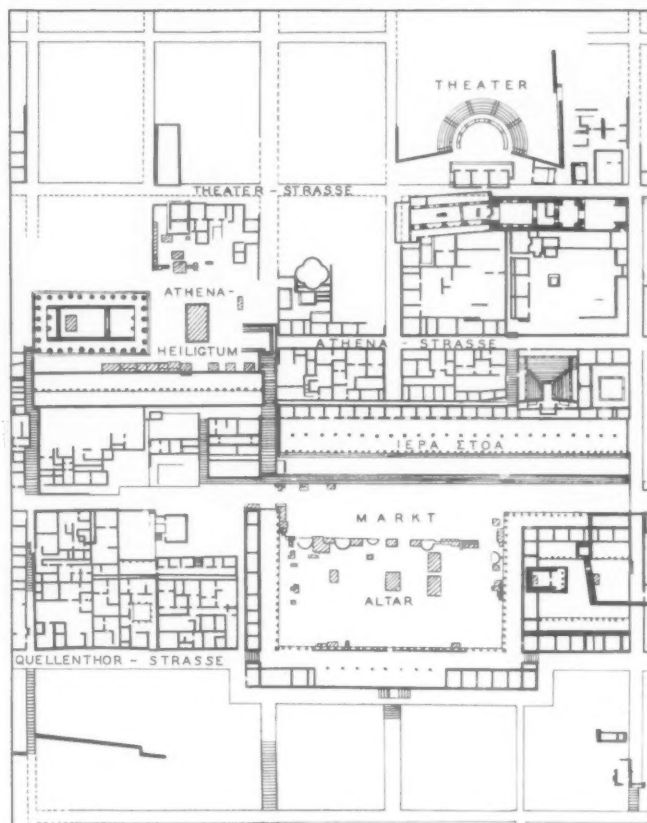


FIG. 7. Priene (Th. Wiegand, *Priene*, pl. II)

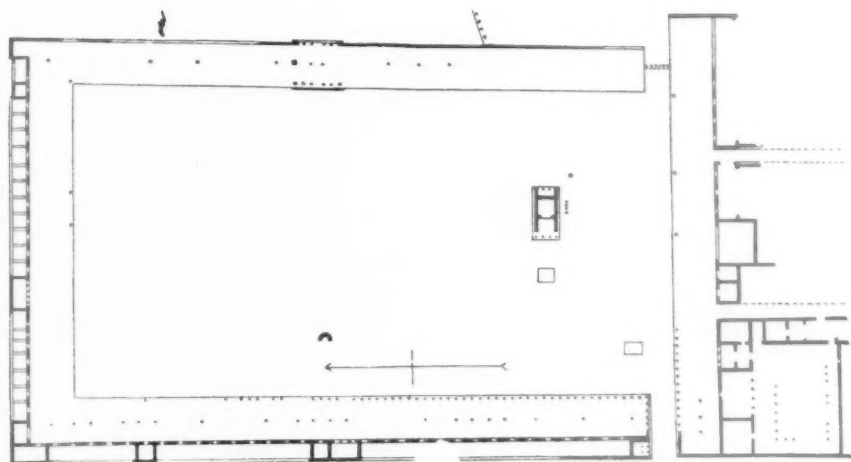


FIG. 8. Agora at Magnesia (J. S., LXII, 1942, p. 26, fig. 4)



FIG. 9. Delos (sketch by author)

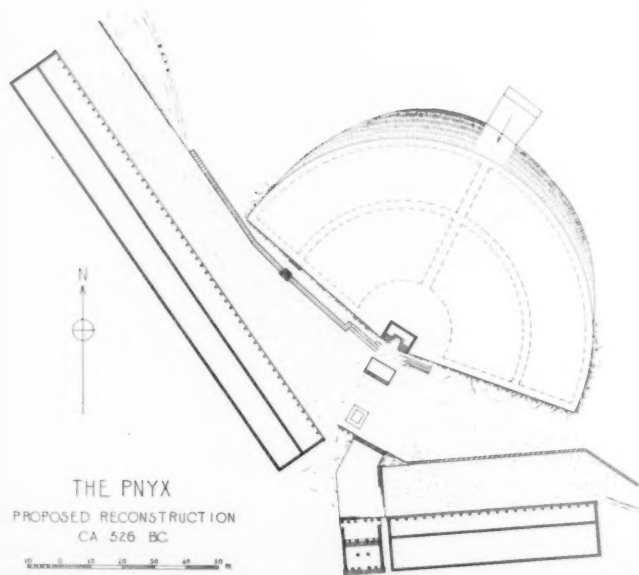


FIG. 10. Pnyx in Athens (*Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 290, fig. 13)

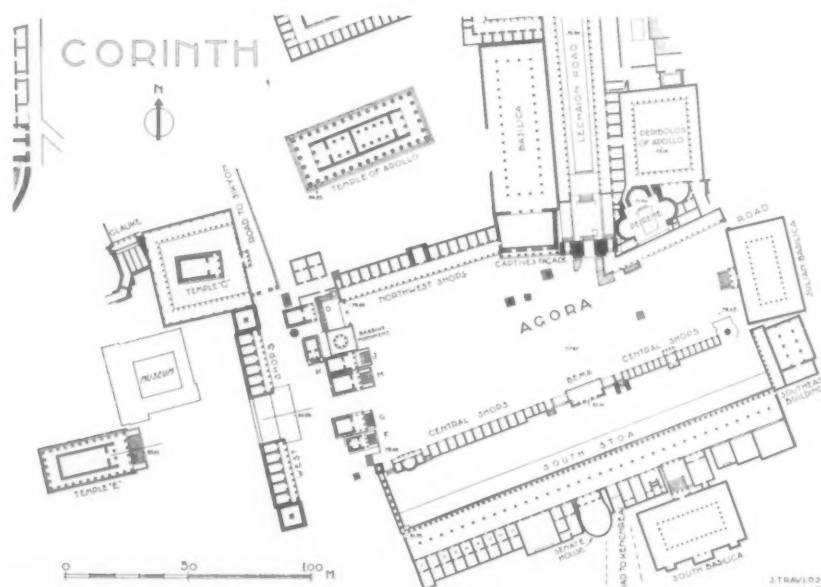


FIG. 11. Corinth, about A.D. 200 (*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 234, fig. 1)

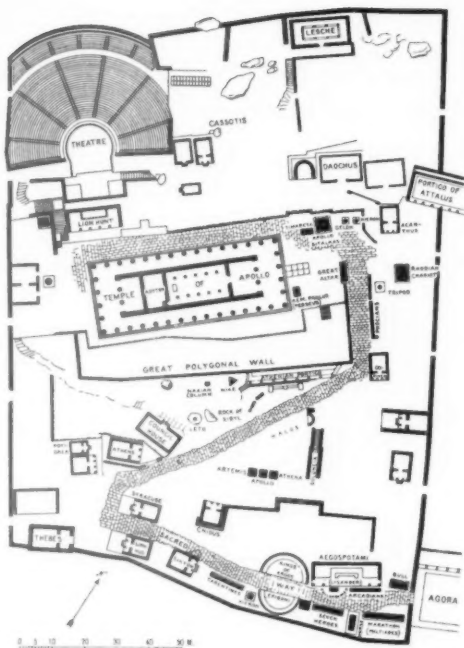


FIG. 12. Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi (Loeb, *Pausanias*, v, pl. 28)

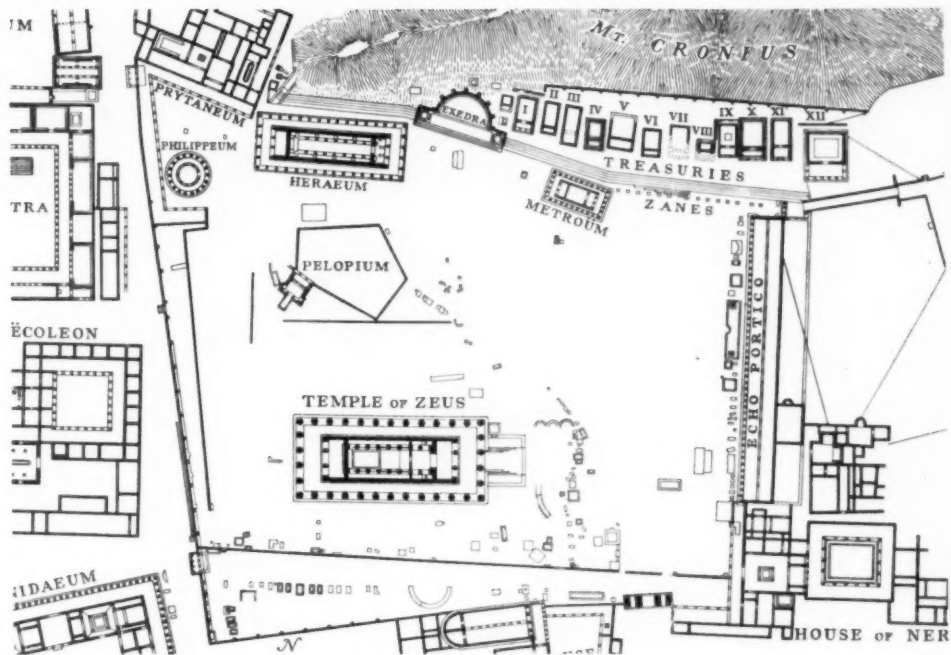


FIG. 13. Sanctuary at Olympia (Loeb, *Pausanias*, v, pl. 22)

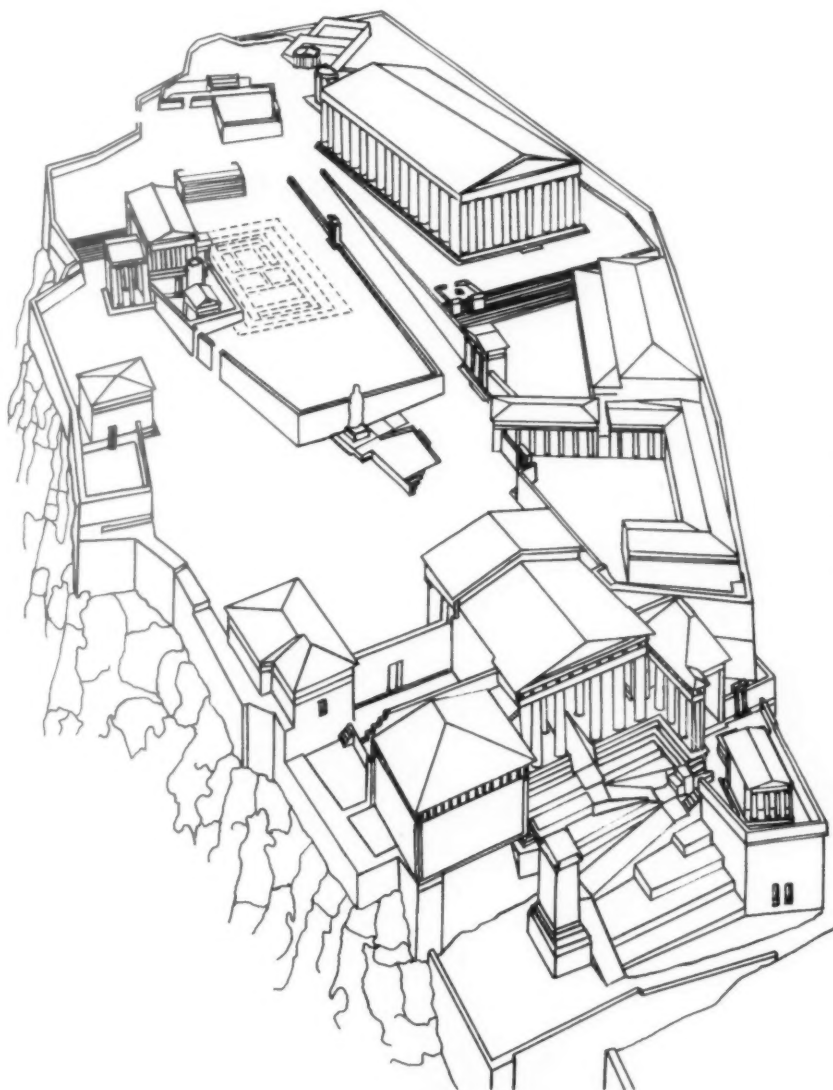


FIG. 15. Acropolis at Athens (after Stevens, in *Hesperia*, xv, 1946, p. 74, fig. 1)

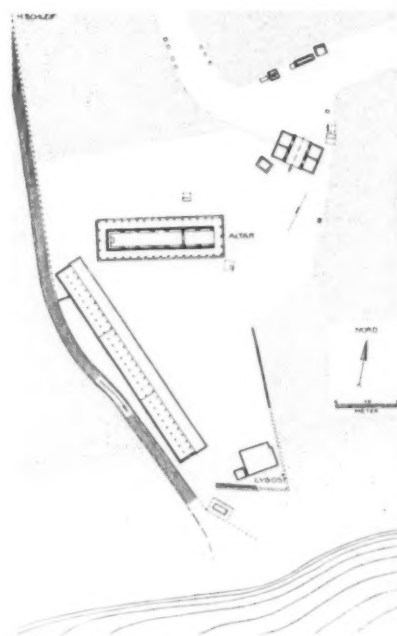


FIG. 14. Early Sanctuary at Samos (*A.M.*, LV, 1930, p. 21)

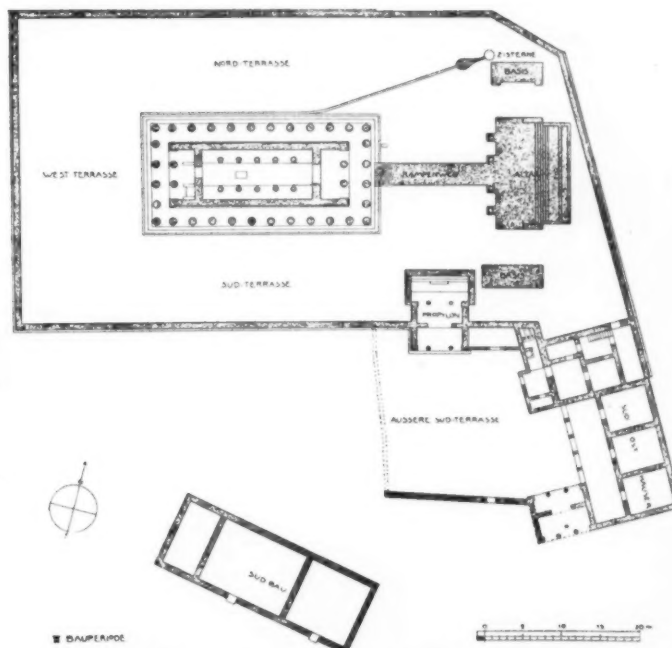


FIG. 16. Sanctuary of Aphaia at Aegina (Welter, *Aegina*, p. 65, fig. 56)

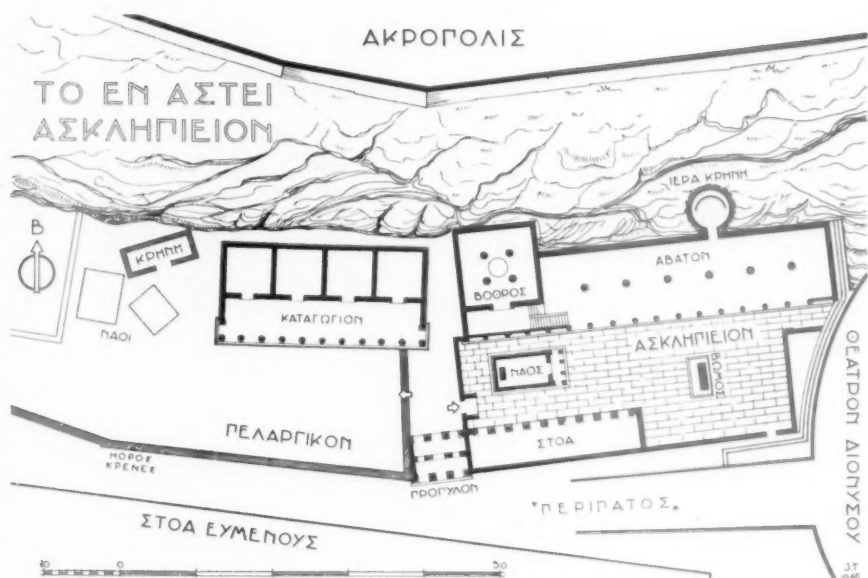


FIG. 17. Asklepion in Athens ('Αρχ. Έφ., 1939-41 [1948], p. 61, fig. 18)

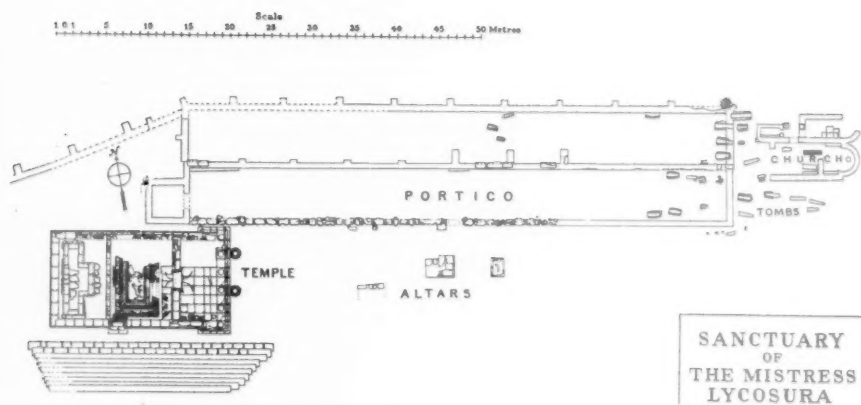


FIG. 18. Sanctuary at Lykosoura (Loeb, *Pausanias*, v, pl. 25)

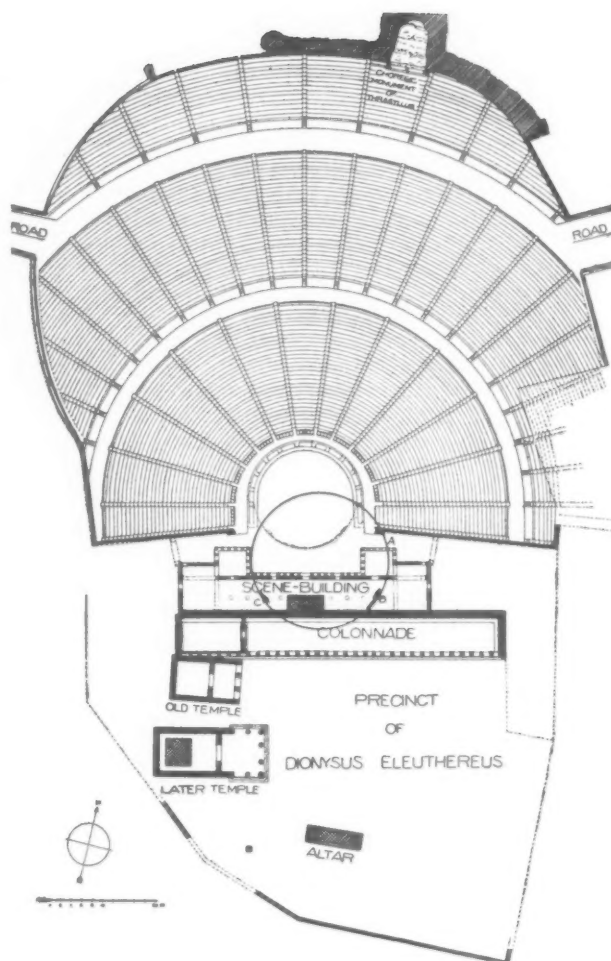


FIG. 19. Theater at Athens (Flickinger, *The Greek Theater and Its Drama*, p. 64, fig. 32)

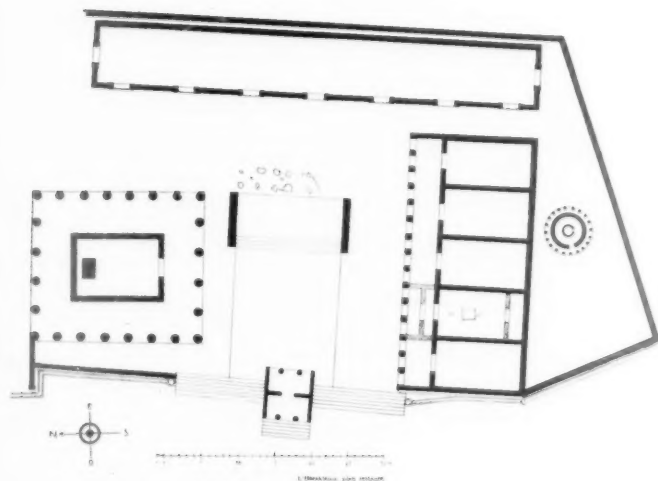


FIG. 20. Sanctuary of Herakles at Thasos (Launey, *Etudes Thasiennes*, I, pl. XIX)

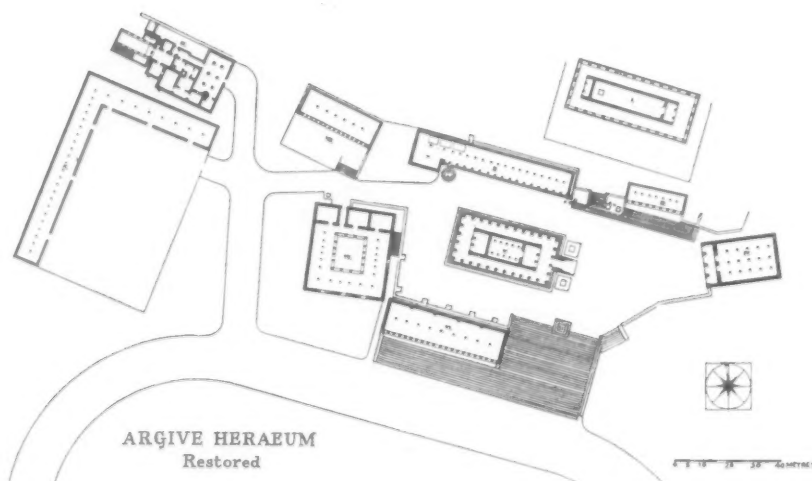


FIG. 21. Argive Heraeum (Loeb, *Pausanias*, v, pl. 17)

they give access to the center terrace only at the east end; similarly access from the center to highest terrace was at one end—the east. Thus the axis of ascent was crosswise to the axis of the temple, and the actual line of ascent was not in the center, but at one end, like a road across the temple front. The various terraces, then, represented oblong volumes side by side, facing on a passage.

The sanctuary at Ptoon is not well enough known to provide detailed information, but it was clearly rather an elaborate succession of terraces, and may in some respects have been a predecessor of the Asklepieion at Kos,²⁷ which is the most fully developed of the complex sanctuaries laid out with U-shaped stoas on spacious terraces connected by fine stairways.

Finally, there are some examples of peculiar form, each almost unique, but the description of one may suffice. The Temple of Athena Polias at Pergamum (Fig. 2) shows an unusual complexity and an interesting development. The temple itself stands on a high terrace above the theater, in an area lightly defined, apparently by a low step. The temple area so defined projects at an irrational angle into a larger space originally marked by an L-shaped stoa which served as a library. Thus the temple represents one volume, the stoa another, and the two are interlocked so that the temple volume is partially enclosed and partially projecting dramatically free. Later a smaller stoa was added to create a third side to the Library area, which increased the sense of enclosure to that volume, but did not essentially modify the relation of the temple to it.

D. SPACE FORM WITHOUT BLOCK FORM

In our introduction we noted the theoretical possibility of creating spatial form with one building only, a situation which, strictly speaking, might be described as space form without block form, since there is no arrangement of several buildings involved. Under the present, admittedly rather forced, definition, we distinguish our immediate subject from the space form constituted by the interior of an enclosed building, confining it to open-air space delimited and formulated in some way by a single structure. Viewed thus, Greek architecture of all periods is unusually rich in this type of design. Any Greek theatre, for example, is essentially such a form and little else; a gymnasium or palaestra could be so described. But there are other types of buildings which require a certain manipulation to create a spatial effect.

The Propylaea on the Acropolis at Athens, for example, creates its own entrance court by the west wings (Fig. 15). To be sure, the wings are, in a sense, discrete elements, but the architect intended to integrate them with the gate into one building. More common is the type of stoa with projecting wings, of which the Stoa of Zeus in the Athenian Agora is an example (Fig. 1). In such buildings a space belonging to the stoa is created between the wings, while the latter, at the same time, provide a contact with the larger space in front. In the Hellenistic period a structure like the Bouleuterion at Miletus provides its own entrance court, completely enclosed by colonnades (Fig. 6).

It is a purely arbitrary matter whether one regards these effects as group design or as the design of an individual building. However, they are groups in so far as they consist of a building and a space, and for the sake of completeness may be included in our present analysis.

E. SUMMARY OF SPACE FORMS

The above concludes our survey of the types of space form employed by the Greeks, and we may now summarize. Some buildings were erected with no spatial reference whatsoever, or even with a conscious negation of such reference. Other groups were laid out or developed with an extremely informal spatial sense. There are also several formal types, of which most examples range from archaic through Hellenistic times. These forms are distinguished, first, by their dependence on a base line, or by their sense of enclosure. Those dependent on a single base line could

27. Herzog and Schazmann, *Kos*, Berlin, 1932, I, pls. 38-40.

have been of the frontal type, with a generalized space extending before the base line; longitudinal, with a definite lengthwise accent; or transverse, with an appreciable accent at right angles to the base line from some point within the base line itself. Those forms developed on an angled or L-shaped base line produce a more complex effect, with accents intersecting within the space. The forms distinguished by their sense of enclosure were either incomplete (open), or complete. The incomplete type depended on a U-shaped arrangement of buildings with a distinct sense of the openness and essential disparity of the fourth side. The "complete enclosure," as we find it usually in Greek architecture, was composed of several individualized elements of comparatively uniform emphasis which produced an impression of homogeneous enclosure, although with ample sense of free passage in and out of the area between the enclosing elements. Truly complete enclosure, by a continuous structure on all four sides, is extremely rare, and essentially non-Greek. Finally, groups constructed according to these schemes could be combined into more complex designs of several spatial elements. Actually, such combinations are rare except in very informal arrangements of entrance courts to sanctuaries.

IV. BLOCK FORM

We have been making a survey of Greek architecture from the point of view of space form, and have tried to note examples of every type of design in which this factor plays a significant role, whether negative or positive. We have touched upon block form only casually, in passing. Now, however, we must consider it more specifically. Reversing the outline of the previous analysis, it will be convenient first to note the existence of some block form with no significant relation to a planned space, then reconsider group designs, where block form might be expected to contribute to space form, from the point of view of the arrangement of masses rather than spaces.

A. BLOCK FORM WITHOUT SPACE FORM

In speaking of block form without space form, we do not refer to the conscious negation of space form noted above in connection with the Ekklesiasterion at Priene, or the Erechtheum, where for choice or necessity the relation of one building to others is ignored or concealed. We have now, rather, to do with certain instances where a building was designed in relation to other buildings with positive aesthetic purport, but where no space form resulted. This is most obvious, for example, in the combination of theater and Thersilion at Megalopolis (Fig. 3), where the porch of the Thersilion is also the *skene* of the theater. No particular form, spatially speaking, results which is not already implicit in the theater, but there is obviously a conscious relationship between the two structures. More difficult to state is the nature of the design of the stoa behind which the Temple of Athena at Priene stands (Fig. 7). The stoa faces away from the temple, over the descending terraces of the city. Clearly it is designed from two points of view: the spectacle that would unfold for those within the stoa, and the beauty it would have as a building for those in the agora, or the lower city. From the latter point of vantage it may have had some relation to the Temple of Athena, although it is likely that the temple would be invisible behind it from most positions below. A similar idea prevails in the lower stoa or "bazaar" at Assos (Fig. 5), which looks out over the city below the agora, and would have afforded a magnificent view, while it would itself have been a fine sight from below. The Stoa of Eumenes in Athens, and other buildings on the south slope of the Acropolis, with the Acropolis rising above, from some distant, elevated positions, might have provided a fine effect of assembled buildings. In any case, there are these and doubtless other examples, particularly in hilly towns like Pergamum, where individual buildings or groups of buildings would have been planned with some consideration of the impression they would have made as a whole, but without reference to any spatial composition. Unfortunately these are so few among well-known buildings that it is impossible to generalize about them.

B. GENERAL CHARACTER OF GREEK BLOCK FORM

In considering now the problems of block form in complete group design, it is impossible to make a classification even in a general way, for there is only one "type." The definition, or rather description of this type can most easily be approached by establishing some negative aspects, from the point of view of modern tradition.

It is perhaps a fair statement, in the first place, to say that the Greeks avoided planning formal arrangements of architectural masses either in themselves, or as means of space form, in any but the simplest terms. Almost all the examples of group design which might be cited are based on two buildings; not infrequently there is only one, as in the Sanctuary of Artemis Brauron on the Acropolis; occasionally there are three. But when we find more than three buildings in a group, the additional elements are by many degrees subordinate, and are not formally related to the dominating structures. Many small sanctuaries consist essentially of a temple and one stoa. The great Hellenistic agoras consist of one U-shaped stoa (if there are two L-shaped stoas, the division is scarcely noticeable) and, as an extra and not really necessary element, a second stoa on the fourth side. In so large a sanctuary as those at Olympia and Delos, the space form is set by a great stoa on one side (at Olympia supplemented by the treasury terrace treated as a unit on another). Within the area so established is only one outstanding building; the many smaller ones are scattered about in general confusion. Now and then we may detect more or less formal effects among the subsidiary buildings, particularly when they are lined along roads or paths, but seldom do they achieve an organized collective form beyond the impression of a full, even crowded, volume. They are never all related to a dominant unifying structure. In the developed form of the "old-fashioned" agora, as at Athens, where a considerable number of buildings accumulated, they do not seem to be interrelated formally, except in so far as all contribute to define the space, and attempts were made to reduce their number and to make the boundary uniform. In the few examples where a number of various and important buildings were gathered, as at the Argive Heraeum, there seems to be little thought of their disposition in relation to one another, beyond the main interest of enclosing the space. In general, large or small, Delphi or Aegina, the space was simple, formulated by one or two buildings around which swarmed other smaller structures, monuments, and statues.

A second negative aspect of block pattern in Greek group design is the fact that the principle of balance and equivalence seems wholly lacking. If there is anything characteristic of such group arrangements (including the distinctly subsidiary as well as the few principle elements) it is that they are asymmetrical and not balanced. Entrances are commonly in corners, rarely is a building balanced against another in full equivalence, but rather, it is most common for one of a pair of buildings to be distinctly unlike the other. Even in the most regular schemes, as in the Ionian agora, the stoa which frequently crosses the open end is not symmetrically situated, and if the enclosing sides are made up of two L-shaped stoas, the two components are usually unequal.

A third striking aspect of the arrangement of masses, in harmony with this observation, is the fact that angles are seldom rational, nor does formal geometry seem to play any part in any other way. That is to say, buildings are rarely set at right angles to one another, nor can any angle which does exist be explained according to any meaningful geometrical or aesthetic relationship. They seem to be wholly casual, accidental, or established by purely external factors. Thus lines are seldom parallel, nor are enclosures of any regular geometrical form. In quite remarkable contrast with post-renaissance and even some Roman designs, geometrically curved lines of any significance are entirely lacking, with the special exception of forms resulting from the rare use of theaters or stadia. Statues and buildings are frequently arranged along roads which are not straight, or which bend in various ways, but curves planned for aesthetic effect in themselves do not exist.

Finally, there is no hint of perspective, and although there is occasional indication that views

themselves were willingly accepted, there is seldom a tangible indication that attention was paid to controlling the point of vantage from which a monument might be seen with particular effect. Mr. Stevens' important studies of the Acropolis speak of particular views from the Propylaea and other points,²⁸ but there is no indication that the architects shifted roads or modified buildings for the purpose of freeing or creating these views. The fact that the door and both windows of the Erechtheum may be seen from one particular point in front of the building may be important, but we cannot be sure that it is. The distortion of axial symmetry in the arrangement of doors and windows in the northwest wing of the Propylaea is undoubtedly of real significance, but is chiefly remarkable because it is so rare. The magnificent lofty position of the Temple of Athena Polias in Pergamum, and perhaps of other buildings in that city, may have been calculated; the reservation of open space in the row of buildings in front of the Hephaisteion in Athens, and some other possibly planned views may be cited, but on the whole it is rather an impressive fact that the views of Greek buildings may be enhanced by their topographical setting in general, but little if any by the arrangement of the surrounding structures, except in so far as these latter produce the effect of a swarming, generalized population out of which the main structure rises.

V. CONCLUSIONS REGARDING GROUP DESIGN

A. SUMMARY OF CHARACTERISTICS OF GREEK GROUP DESIGN

We have now completed the survey of Greek architectural group designs, first from the point of view of space form, and then from that of block form. We have seen that throughout all periods of Greek art some realization of spatial relationships existed in the minds of the architects. For any of various reasons they were willing at times to ignore or even eliminate spatial reference; at times they were content with a generalized, informal space; frequently they developed specific spatial effects based on a sense of movement or of enclosure. On the other hand, they seldom were interested in the organization of two or more spaces in relation to one another, and when this was attempted the relationship was fairly casual. Moreover, the spatial effects were achieved primarily by one or two buildings, seldom more than two, and other structures in an over-all plan were effective largely as "filling" for the space. In the arrangement of the massive elements of a design, balance and equivalence were consistently ignored or avoided, as were geometrically rational lines, angles, and curves, and, generally speaking, any sense of formal interrelationship.

It may serve to emphasize the peculiar character of Greek group design if we present a contrast in some detail, and for our example we may take the Roman agora at Corinth as it existed around A.D. 200 (Fig. 11). In it there are several spatial elements involved. The main body of the agora is divided by topographical necessity into an upper and a lower element, both long, narrow quadrangles, side by side. West of the lower agora is a narrow terrace above which rises a hill crowned by a temple. The main approach, predetermined by topography, is east of the center of the north side, from the great road leading to Lechaëum. Above the western part of the north side rises another hill with a great archaic temple. Our analysis may begin with a brief account of the buildings involved, proceed then to an indication of their calculated interrelationships, and conclude with an interpretation of their function from the point of view of group design.

The entire agora area is bounded on the south by the great South Stoa, which by the period in question had come to house a number of varied offices, but which must have presented a fairly uniform columnar façade toward the north. The upper agora was bounded on the west by a row of columns carrying an aqueduct, and on the east by a colonnade serving as the porch of a large building. Between the upper and lower agora was a series of buildings facing northward across

²⁸. See note 2.

the lower agora. At the east was a tall column on a circular base, of great scale; at the west a small building with three rooms, the central one of which had a projecting porch, the whole being faced by columns. A little east of center was the Bema, a speaking platform with a façade facing the South Stoa, but with its north side open, rising above the lower agora. It was flanked by two rooms opening onto the lower agora; these in turn were flanked by steps leading to the upper level. The rest of the line was marked by the plain row of Central Shops, rising only a step or two above the level of the upper agora, so that they did no more than mark the edge of that area, and presented a simple, rectilinear, uncolonnaded front to the lower agora. In the center of the eastern section was a larger room with a projecting colonnaded porch. The lower agora was bounded on the east by the Julian Basilica, a single large building with a colonnaded porch, on the west by a row of temples and monuments on the edge of a terrace. Behind the temples was an open space with the row of West Shops along its western edge, through which rose in the center a monumental flight of steps to the temple behind. The northern boundary of the lower agora, beginning on the east, consisted of a light colonnade marking the ledge over the fountain Peirene; a monumental arch at the entrance from the Lechaëum Road; an ornamental façade of gigantic figures masking a court which gave entrance to the great Basilica; the Northwest Shops with colonnaded façade and a central room with projecting roof and behind this the hill with the archaic temple.

Here is a true group design, unusually complex and unusually successful. A considerable number of buildings and spaces are arranged in a single scheme, with full recognition of their potential values, formally and designedly interrelated by a number of manipulations which we may now review.

The principal unifying element is the South Stoa, running the entire length of the agora. Based on it, the whole complex is a simple rectangle. In the northern subdivision, the Stoa plays even more powerfully the dominant role; the narrow rectangle, bounded by a colonnade at each end, has its geometrical axis east and west, but the controlling axis, aesthetically, is north and south, because of the effect created by the great expanse of the stoa looking northward. The north side of this upper area is substantially free and open, looking across the vista of the lower agora, the archaic temple, and the view beyond. The roofs of the Central Shops, arranged as a terrace, only lightly define the edge of the area.

As to the lower agora, the design is set by the physical features on the north. Here there are two predetermined elements. First, there is the entrance from the Lechaëum Road. This is naturally marked by a gate, the effect of which is to divide the lower agora into two unequal parts. The eastern part is bounded on the north by a light colonnade screening the brow of the ledge over Peirene, on the east by the massive Julian Basilica, on the south by the East Central Shops with the accented central room. In the part west of the Propylaea, there are greater complications. Here there is another predetermined element: the archaic temple hill. This is provided with a base design by the Northwest Shops (whose central room incidentally serves to bond the east and west section of the lower agora by recalling the central room of the East Central Shops diagonally opposite), and the awkward pocket between the Propylaea and shops before the basilica which lies on the east slope of the temple hill is masked by a Façade of Colossal Figures. This, geometrically, marks the main accent of the north of the market, but the Propylaea is the main accent functionally. To integrate this diversity, the Bema, in the central line of buildings, is brought east of center axially opposite the Façade of Colossal Figures, but tied to the Propylaea by the eccentrically arranged monuments in front of each pier of the gate, so designed as to focus on the Bema. For the rest of the boundaries of the western part of the lower agora, the temples on the terrace to the west provide an effective limit contrasting with the simple mass of the Julian Basilica opposite, and the West Central Shops enclose it at the south.

The central row of buildings serves a complex function. For one thing, they unify the two ele-

ments of the lower agora, for they obviously constitute a single design running the entire length of both sections, with a central dominant, two terminal accents, and a light connecting element all along. The shops have a function from each level and join the upper and lower agora just as they divide it. From the north they are places of business and appear simply as the basement of the upper agora; from the south their roof is the position from which one looks into the lower agora. The Bema, too, has a function from each level: it is approached from the upper agora, and used by officials whose offices are there; it is faced from below by the civilian population.

Finally, the functional and aesthetic design includes the "forum transitorium" behind the temples on the edge of the west terrace; this is at once a place of business, an entrance court to the agora, and a transitional stage in the approach through the West Shops to the great temple on the hill to the west, which culminates a vista establishing a powerful axis intersecting the basic frontal movement from the South Stoa.

From this analysis it is clear that the whole scheme is an architectural unity of structural masses and open spaces represented by many diverse elements, but functionally and aesthetically inter-related in an organically meaningful articulation with emphases, balance and contrast of lines, masses, and proportions. It is also clear that nothing like it has been found, or is likely to be found, in pre-Roman Greek plans.

B. BASIC PRINCIPLES OF GREEK GROUP DESIGN

Our statement of the problem of group design in Greek architecture has so far been descriptive; we must now face the problem of basic principles, and here we may state the paradox which has been felt by most observers of Greek architecture. The Greeks laid out designs in which effective spatial properties were present; they were supreme masters of design in detail, and in the articulation of individual buildings and statues; why did they never apply to block form in particular, and group design as a whole, the principles we are accustomed to admire, and which, indeed, we feel include many of the basic principles of Greek art itself?

We may begin the resolution of the problem by pointing out, first, that because Greek group designs are not according to our standards, it does not follow that they are without qualities of their own. To identify these qualities, we may first observe that the negative aspects of their design, on which we have dwelt at some length, have also their positive side. The fact, for example, that there is little balance or equivalence, little rationality of line and angle, from another point of view means the creation of a completely casual and informal result. It provides that in a Greek sanctuary or agora there could be nothing static and stiff, no regimentation of eye or sense, none of the coldness which neoclassic symmetry produces. The observer would receive a sense of the fundamental simple form of the space, and he could not escape the regular rhythms and balances in the individual buildings. But the eccentric ties of their interrelationships would allow him to escape a sense of complete control and permit him a feeling of his own individuality and that of the various components of the group. It is true that a group well designed according to our own standards, or those of the Roman agora at Corinth, would allow to some extent for this need, but the intricate relationships at Corinth, for example, do exercise a fundamental and persuasive control, while in Greek designs it is freedom and individuality which are basic and uninhibited.

Apart from the sense of casualness there is considerable play for the imagination in Greek group design. We have constantly referred to the implications of a building or group of buildings as to space form, and indicated that important lines of the form were to be supplied by the observer. This, too, is an element present in modern design, but far more in Greek. Undoubtedly it would have oppressed the Greek to have too much drawn out for him; he could appreciate and enjoy the realization of the space unrolling before a stoa, and needed only the lightest indication to remind him where that space should stop. He could comprehend, too, the relation between the defined

space and the area beyond, below, or above, without the assistance of fully controlling lines of selected points of vantage. He could sense the meaning of an approach by gate or road in spatial terms, and with that realization could also enjoy the naturalness of a winding path as opposed to the grandeur of a great staircase—as before the Propylaea in Athens. Or, if a large stairway was required, as in the entrance court to the Parthenon, he could accept it for what it was, a step-cut terrace, and comprehend its proper forms without the help of artificial balustrades and walls.

This wholesale acceptance of the casual and imaginative in design resulted naturally in an infinite variety in the arrangement of buildings in sanctuary and agora. When the governing principle is eccentricity and informality, there can be no way of predicting from one point to another what the view will be, even though, as in Greek architecture, the chief buildings adhered strictly to traditional forms. The innate idealism of the Greek expressed itself, among other ways, in the form of the buildings themselves; the temple always had the same form, unless rare external requirements compelled a distortion, with which the architect could deal only with difficulty, as in the Erechtheum. A gate was a gate, and always essentially the same. The exceptional Propylaea in Athens proves this point by the fact that its additions were not fused with the gate itself, but were patently adjuncts, and after all only one of them was fully carried out, showing that the additions were dispensable. A council house was almost always a cubical structure; the stoa had a form only slightly variable, and that in prescribed ways. With component elements of types fixed by tradition, to group them with balance and formality would have resulted in an almost unrelenting uniformity, and there would have been no worth-while difference between one group and another. Thus the eccentricity and irrational lines and angles permitted a variety of groupings which at once created an interest in itself, and served to preserve with results more effective by contrast the fixed, idealized types of the unit structures. Thus these elements of casualness, imagination, and variety may be summed up as a curious but reasonable expression of Greek idealism, in that they resulted in the preservation of that basic idealism while permitting variety and interest in the various groupings.

Another group of characteristics relates to another basic Greek trait: rational objectivity. The first of this second group of characteristics might be called concentration, by which we mean the tendency to arrange, in one of two ways, so that each building be seen in and for itself alone. One way by which this end is achieved is by the device of avoiding complex space forms and including only a few structures in a composition, although a considerable number of smaller monuments might be assembled in the area in a subsidiary position. Each group would have only one or two dominant buildings or accents, each of which stands out strongly and is perceived with particular intensity. Thus at Delphi the temple of Apollo would have stood out sharply above all other elements of the sanctuary; at Olympia the Temple of Zeus and the Echo Colonnade would have done the same, as in most other sanctuaries. In some instances, it would be the space itself which was so accented, as in the developed "old-fashioned" agoras. The second method of concentration is the reverse of the lack of formal grouping in the sense of arranging the buildings in a graduated series of relative importance, with one supporting, or offering a foil, to another. The point has already been discussed in our account of Delphi, where we observed that each treasury was erected as an individual unit, not as a companion piece or supporting figure for any other building. By avoiding rational relationships to other buildings, the architect of each structure made his own the sole object of attention for the one who might look upon it.

One particular aspect of this quality of concentration determines the location of a vast number of structures: the desire to bring the building as close to the passer-by as possible, so that there may be no possibility of his failing to perceive it. Thus buildings and statues are crowded along the sides of roads and squares, where they cannot fail to be seen. This tendency may explain why the Greeks planned no views or vistas, for they would not have been content with a distant romantic

spectacle of a building from afar, but with firm practical intent brought it into the immediate foreground of attention.

We thus have two groups of principles, one related obliquely to the idealistic quality of Greek thought, the other a direct expression of their objective rationalism. A third group we may relate in a general way to their underlying humanism: here we may note the definite functional character of the group, and the social implications of their treatment of space.

The functionalism of the groupings has been touched upon to some extent by the quality of immediacy just discussed, for we must remember that the real function of many small buildings, statues, and other monuments in public places was to publicize and memorialize persons, places, and events. The functional approach to the location of such a monument would, therefore, be to place it where it would be inevitably and frequently seen. Every conspicuous place would thus be quickly filled; then the second-best places, from this standpoint, would be seized upon, regardless of the effect of the new monument upon the old. Hence every main line of traffic would be lined with monuments vying for attention. So far as the location of practically intended buildings, such as stoas and council houses is concerned, they, too, would be located with primary reference to the convenience of the people they served. In this way the Tholos-Bouleuterion complex at Athens grew up piece by piece in the smallest possible compass next the agora; for the same reason the builders of the Ekklesiasterion at Priene could ignore the fact that their building was on a back street, if it could conveniently be entered from the stoa bordering the agora; or the Bouleuterion(?) at Messene could be put up in one corner of an otherwise symmetrical market.

The functional aspect of Greek planning is a practical one that can be easily understood; the social quality of the groupings in and around Greek spaces is a less tangible matter, but not less important, for it is the underlying principle of the unity which we in our architecture are accustomed to seek by means of more formal aesthetic manipulation of proportions and dominants. The concept might best be approached by comparing the spectacle of a more formally planned design with great, open, paved courts, monumental stairs, and buildings raised aloft on pedestals at the foci of avenues and vistas, with the sensation produced by a Greek sanctuary teeming with small buildings and statues, reflecting by their very disorder the throngs of people who might visit the place. It is an attempt to supplement the casual quality of the spaces already noted by infusing them with a hint of the manifold diversity of ordinary life. It is an expression of the realization that practically life is not uniform and ideal, but varied and full of countless individuals and their small activities. The actual result must have been the opposite of the museum with its marshalled lines of statues—a warm and human environment for the temple or the market place.

Thus, however strange it may seem that the sensitive and artistic Greeks did not employ the formal principles of the Romans or the people of the Renaissance and our own time in organizing their groups and spaces, we need not suppose that they were dissatisfied with the appearance of their own group designs, and we may understand that they found qualities in those designs which for them had positive values, direct and indirect expressions of the basic characteristics of their intellectual and aesthetic life: objectivity, idealism, and humanism.

C. CHANGE OF VALUES IN GROUP DESIGN

There remain two questions which might properly be raised; first, were the Greeks always satisfied with these values, or may we discern a change or development in Greek group design with reference to them; and, second, did they consciously plan their designs on the basis of such principles explicitly formulated?

In answer to the first question, it may be recalled that we have noticed that from beginning to end the block form of a Greek group bore the same general character, and that every "type" of space form is exemplified at least once in each period from the fifth century to Hellenistic times,

and some of them even earlier. It is fairly safe to say that no significant development of *types* of space form can be demonstrated on the basis of present evidence, throughout classical and Hellenistic times.

There is, however, an unquestionable difference in feeling between the older and a very considerable number of the newer designs, and we must attempt to identify the change. It is indicated objectively by conscious amalgamation of buildings and directions, and conscious avoidance of groups as such, in the Ionian agora, where stoas bound all sides and public buildings are hidden behind them. It is indicated also by the colonnade across the Metroon-Bouleuterion complex in Athens, symptomatic of the same new interest in neatness and uniformity of definition. It is suggested in the fact that the transverse space forms of the Hellenistic period like the Sanctuary of Hera Basileia at Pergamum and the Syrian sanctuary at Delos are distinguished by clear-cut single accents of temple and terrace, whereas earlier examples like the Marmaria at Delphi and the Pnyx in Athens are more generalized by rows of buildings. The tendency may be expressed in a paradox, that the Hellenistic designs are more conservative than the earlier ones. The earlier times favored a sense of openness, with the implied possibility of expansion, and with the actual result of the accumulation of buildings; the later designs were more fully defined and self-contained.

In this difference we may see clearly the expression of changing times. The early days in Greece were those of optimism, ambition, growth, unlimited self-confidence. In the later days people were less sure of themselves in a greatly expanded universe; they needed the security of clearer definition in their immediate environment, a sense of the possibility of achieving completeness at least in small things; a counterbalance of regularity and uniformity in an infinitely varied and ill-organized world. Their individualism and Hellenism never let them strive for the completely organized and even regimented designs of the Romans, which so perfectly expressed the genius of that age for organizing the tremendously disparate elements of their empire and the erection of massive integrated structures of politics as well as of architecture. Nevertheless, the later Greek designs have a more controlled and more nearly formal sense of design than the earlier ones, simply because the Greeks had come to live in an age when man had to create an easily intelligible microcosm, for he could no longer hope to control the macrocosm. The aesthetic novelty was simply in the more controlled treatment of the theme which continued down from earlier days.

D. ANCIENT CONCEPT OF GROUP DESIGN

Finally, then, there is the question of the extent to which all this was awake in the consciousness of the architect who might have been called upon to build or remodel a sanctuary or an agora. This question, in the absence of writings by the architects themselves, cannot be answered conclusively. Vitruvius, who quotes writings of Greek architects, makes no allusion to any awareness of, or interest in, principles of this kind on their part, nor does he show any himself. On the other hand, neither does he say anything to explain the highly formal group designs of the Romans, except from the practical and functional point of view. We need not argue from silence, but silence does support what would in any case be the *a priori* assumption: that it is unlikely that the Greek architect was at all vividly conscious of anything like formulation of principles such as we have been discussing. This follows largely from the nature of the principles themselves, which are too indefinite to serve as a tangible rule or formula.

While the entire subject is purely speculative, we may nevertheless, with some confidence, reconstruct the process of group design in the mind of a Greek architect somewhat as follows. He would be provided with a site and instructed as to the type of building or buildings required. Any particular functional needs would be stipulated. His task was, therefore, to design, within traditional forms, one or more buildings appropriate to the function and the site. The principles

of functionalism and concentration would establish the particular spot for the buildings by a process which he probably would have considered "good sense" rather than having to do with design as such. The general dimensions of the space would determine his selection from among the few simple types of space form we have discussed. The more detailed arrangement of the building or its relation to other buildings in the area must have been the result of a more conscious process, and here we might actually suppose he thoughtfully avoided rational lines and angles, although it is far more likely that he followed slight suggestions of terrain and preexisting foundations, freely accepting their irrationality. If, as well might seem to be the case, he did not actually plan the specific irrationalities, it is of no importance, for he must have been consciously aware that this fortuitous informality worked to produce effects in full harmony with his aesthetic objectives.

EMORY UNIVERSITY

THE MOSAICS OF THE CAPPELLA PALATINA IN PALERMO

AN ESSAY ON THE CHOICE AND ARRANGEMENT OF SUBJECTS

ERNST KITZINGER

DISCUSSION of the mosaics of Norman Sicily has long centered on the question of the respective shares of Byzantine and local masters in their actual execution. In these investigations, which have led different scholars to widely different results, insufficient attention has been paid to the problems posed by the general Byzantine affinities of these mosaics, which are, after all, undeniable. Is it not significant that an artistic form so peculiarly "Byzantine" should have been adopted by a Western dynasty which was in almost perpetual conflict with the Eastern Empire and which was, in fact, in its time one of Byzantium's most formidable rivals? Is it not also worth investigating how the Normans were able to use in their churches iconographic patterns which had been invented for Greek sanctuaries and were bound up with orthodox theology and liturgy through many intricate ties of symbolism? Transferred to an alien setting could these iconographic themes amount to more than purely superficial imitations? Or was there a purpose behind the adoption of this particular art by the Norman rulers and was it adapted intelligently to its surroundings?

An inquiry into the choice and arrangement of subjects in the Cappella Palatina in Palermo—and, more particularly, in the sanctuary of the Chapel—throws considerable light on these questions. The mosaics in the eastern half of the Palermitan palace church constitute the earliest extant scheme of decoration undertaken by the Normans in Sicily. The arrangement follows in large part established rules of Byzantine church decoration. Yet it can be shown that the scheme is Byzantine in appearance only, and that it has been subtly and purposefully modified to serve as an expression of ideas which are outside the realm of Byzantine religious art and in a sense diametrically opposed to it.¹

I

The Cappella Palatina was built by Roger II in the years following his assumption of the royal title in A.D. 1130. In A.D. 1140 the main parts of the structure must have been completed.² For the famous mosaic decoration, which covers almost the whole of the interior, two dates are available. The first is King Roger's dedicatory inscription; in its decipherable parts it does not

1. This article contains the substance of a paper on "The Mosaics of Norman Sicily and their Relation to Byzantium" read at a Dumbarton Oaks Symposium on "Byzantium and her Neighbors" on April 29, 1949. Much of the material was gathered during a visit to Sicily in the summer of 1948. The visit was sponsored by the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection (Harvard University), and, according to present intentions, is to be followed with further work on the mosaics of Norman Sicily. I wish to take this opportunity to thank Professor A. M. Friend, Jr., the Director of Research at Dumbarton Oaks, who provided essential stimuli for this study, and the authorities in Palermo, particularly Professor Guiotto, the Soprintendente ai Monumenti, and Mons. Pottino, who facilitated my researches in the most courteous manner. My colleagues at Dumbarton Oaks helped me in various ways at

various stages of the work; thanks are due particularly to Professor P. A. Underwood, who was good enough to read the article in manuscript and suggested many improvements. I also wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Otto Demus for letting me see the proofs of his forthcoming book on the mosaics of Norman Sicily. Our results are parallel to some extent; I have not, however, entered into a discussion of points of disagreement.

2. The Chapel is first referred to in a document of A.D. 1132 in which it is merely described as "founded" and in which it is granted parish rights (A. Garofalo, *Tabularium Regiae ac Imperialis Capellae Collegiatae Divi Petri in Regio Panormitano Palatio*, Palermo, 1835, p. 7). But in the great instrument of endowment dated A.D. 1140 (*ibid.*, p. 11) King Roger speaks of the building of the Chapel in the past tense.

specifically mention the decoration, but since it is itself executed in mosaic and forms the lower frame of the decoration of the drum supporting the dome (cf. Fig. 5), work in this part of the Chapel must have been in progress in the year 1143, which is the year recorded in the inscription.³ On the other hand, we learn from the chronicle of Romuald of Salerno that William I, Roger's son and successor, who ruled from 1154 to 1166, decorated the church with mosaics.⁴ The two seemingly contradictory data have generally been reconciled by scholars through the assumption that William continued and completed the work initiated by Roger, but there is no unanimity as to the line of demarcation between the work of the father and that of the son.⁵ Naturally, there need not be an obvious break between the two phases, since artists who worked for Roger may have continued under William according to an established program. Indeed, so far as the program is concerned, it will be shown in a later section of this study that a master plan was evolved in all likelihood under Roger, a plan which provided at least for the bulk of the mosaics in the sanctuary. There is some indication that the mosaics in the nave may have been planned simultaneously (see below, p. 282), even though the execution of the whole program may not have been completed in Roger's lifetime.

From the architectural point of view the Chapel is a hybrid. It combines a Western basilican nave with a domed sanctuary which can be understood best as the nucleus of a Byzantine centralized church modified to some extent in order to bring it into harmony with the nave.⁶ This is not merely a modern interpretation of the architecture. The designers of the mosaic program also looked upon the sanctuary as though it were a Greek *naos* and chose their subjects accordingly.

It is this decoration in the sanctuary which offers the principal interest for the purposes of our discussion. But before we begin to examine it in detail a few words must be said about the mosaics in the nave, which consist mainly of a Biblical cycle beginning with the Creation and ending with the story of Jacob. Extensive illustration of the Old Testament is a feature of Early Christian and Western mediaeval but not of Byzantine church decoration.⁷ Hence the boundary line between the "Byzantine" program of the sanctuary and the "Western" program of the nave would seem to be an obvious place where a break in the continuity of the work might be assumed. Indeed, many scholars have adopted this as the dividing line between the work of Roger II and that of William I.⁸ But the stylistic break at this point is by no means so clear as to be self-evident. In recent years other lines of demarcation between the two phases have been proposed.⁹ And granting even a break in execution at this point, it has already been indicated that sanctuary and nave mosaics may well have been planned simultaneously.

3. For this inscription see N. Buscemi, *Notizie della Basilica di San Pietro detta la Cappella Regia*, Palermo, 1840, p. 31 and pl. VIII. It has suffered heavily from restoration, but the crucial words determining the decade and the year within Roger's reign are in a relatively well preserved section in the western half of the band on the northern side.

4. L. A. Muratori, *Raccolta degli storici italiani*, VII, pt. 1 (*Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon*, ed. C. A. Garufi), fasc. 3, Bologna, 1928, p. 254.

5. See below, notes 8 and 9.

6. Cf. H. M. Schwarz, "Die Baukunst Kalabriens und Siziliens im Zeitalter der Normannen," pt. 1, *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, VI, 1942-44, p. 96. I cannot agree with A. Grabar (*Martyrium*, Paris, 1946, I, p. 577 n. 1) when he connects the architecture of the eastern half of the Cappella Palatina with the German "Doppelkapellen." The fact that there is underneath the sanctuary a lower story does not establish a specific connection with the German examples, since, according to Prof. Grabar's own demonstration, a two-story arrangement is a typical feature of palace churches generally. An essential characteristic of the "Doppelkapelle" is the connection of lower and upper church by means of a central opening (O. Schürer, "Romanische Doppelkapellen," *Märburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, V, 1929, pp. 99ff.).

This feature is absent in the Cappella Palatina, where the lower story is more in the nature of a crypt and the upper church, which includes the nave, is completely self-contained. As will be pointed out later (p. 284), it is at least doubtful whether the throne at the western end of the nave belongs to the period of the original construction.

7. Grabar, *Martyrium*, II, pp. 320ff.; especially pp. 330f.

8. Domenico Lo Faso Pietrasanta Duca di Serradifalco, *Del Duomo di Monreale*, Palermo, 1838, pp. 26f.; G. Di Marzo, *Delle belle arti in Sicilia*, II, Palermo, 1859, p. 61; L. Boglino, in: A. Terzi, etc., *La Cappella di S. Pietro nella Reggia di Palermo*, Palermo, 1889, pt. 1, pp. 20f.; A. A. Pavlovskij, *Paintings of the Palatine Chapel in Palermo* (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1890, p. 30; O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Oxford, 1911, pp. 406f.; P. Muratov, *La Pittura bizantina*, n.d., pp. 113f.; F. Pottino, "Mosaici e pitture nella Sicilia normanna. L'Età di Ruggero II," *Archivio storico siciliano*, N.S. LII, 1932, p. 48; V. Lasareff, "The Mosaics of Cefalù," *ART BULLETIN*, XVII, 1935, p. 221; S. Bottari, *I Mosaici della Sicilia*, Catania, 1943, p. 15.

9. F. Di Pietro, *I Mosaici siciliani dell'età normanna*, Palermo, 1946, pp. 21ff. O. Demus in his forthcoming book on the Sicilian mosaics also places the break at a different point.

A master plan of this kind, allotting the western part of the church to the Old Testament while the eastern part is concerned primarily with the person and life of Christ, would be essentially un-Byzantine. If such a plan really did exist when the sanctuary mosaics were being executed a distinctly Western element was thereby injected also into this part of the decoration which in itself seems so Byzantine. The architecture with its strongly emphasized division between nave and sanctuary undoubtedly favored a two-part program but by no means demanded it. In the Christian East, after the earliest period, artists avoided Old Testament cycles even in decorating churches of longitudinal type.¹⁰ Even in Early Christian and Western mediaeval basilicas, where large spaces were allotted to the Old Testament, it was by no means a rule that the Old and the New Testament should follow one another on the longitudinal axis of the church. In the schemes of Old St. Peter's and Old St. Paul's in Rome, which are thought to go back to the Early Christian period, Old and New Testament cycles confronted one another on the two walls of the nave.¹¹ This scheme was repeated in later churches in the West.¹² We do not know what subjects were depicted in the nave of Desiderius' church at Monte Cassino, which seems a likely source of inspiration for artists decorating a basilican nave in Norman Sicily, but we do know that there were both Old and New Testament scenes in the atrium.¹³ In Desiderius' church at Sant' Angelo in Formis the whole nave was given over to a christological cycle, while the Old Testament scenes found a place in the aisles.

There is, however, a clear precedent in Early Christian art for an Old Testament cycle on both nave walls followed by a New Testament cycle in the area of the sanctuary, namely, the mosaic decoration of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. The specific characteristic of such an arrangement is that it expresses as a progression in space the time sequence of the two great phases in the history of salvation. It is this Early Christian scheme which was perpetuated or revived in the Cappella Palatina. Indeed, what we find here is perhaps more than a mere coordination of two phases. Certain devices seem to have been employed which would bring home to the beholder the fact that the Old Covenant had been defeated by the New and that the Era of Grace had triumphed over the Era of the Law.¹⁴ Such ideas had no room in the Byzantine scheme of church decoration which was averse to all purely narrative or didactic elements. If in the Cappella Palatina these ideas were inherent in a master plan, as they may well have been, the mosaics in the sanctuary of the Sicilian church, however closely they may be modeled on Byzantine prototypes, lacked from the outset the timeless and static quality of the decoration of a Greek *naos*. They represent only one phase, albeit the principal one, in a two-phase narrative.

A discussion of the sanctuary mosaics themselves will reveal further interesting deviations from the spirit of Byzantine church decoration. The very fact that it is so dependent on Greek models makes this part of the program the most suitable object of comparison.

II

The mosaics in the sanctuary may be divided conveniently into three groups: those of the dome and drum, those of the three apses, and, finally, those of the transept, that is to say, the central square and its two lateral wings.

The dome (Fig. 20) is given over to the Pantokrator, a normal theme for the principal dome

10. E.g. in Cappadocia.

11. J. Garber, *Wirkungen der frühchristlichen Gemäldezyklen der alten Peters- und Pauls-Basiliken in Rom*, Berlin and Vienna, 1918, plans I-IV. For the Early Christian origin of these decorations see *ibid.*, pp. 57ff. Cf. also the well-known letter of St. Nilus which seems to envisage a similar arrangement (J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, LXXIX, col. 577).

12. Garber, *op.cit.*, pp. 28ff. (Sta. Maria Antiqua, Ferentillo).

13. Cf. Leo of Ostia's chronicle (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CLXXIII, col. 750). The *tituli* in Cod. Casin. 280 are thought to have belonged to these scenes (cf. H. Bloch, "Monte Cassino, Byzantium and the West in the Earlier Middle Ages," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, III, 1946, pp. 198f.).

14. See below p. 282.

of a mid-Byzantine church. The bust of the All-Ruler is surrounded by four archangels in court costume and four "angels of the Lord." In the next zone—that of the drum—are four niches with full-length figures of prophets and forerunners (David, Solomon, Zacharias, and John the Baptist) bearing scrolls with prophetic texts. They are separated by seated figures of the evangelists in the four squinches. Eight additional prophets are depicted as half-length figures in the spandrels between niches and squinches (Fig. 5).

In comparing this scheme with that of Byzantine Pantokrator domes it must be remembered that in Byzantine churches the transition from the dome to the square beneath is normally effected by means of pendentives rather than squinches, so that the four Evangelists, who commonly act as "corner supports" for the dome, find their places beneath the drum rather than in the drum itself. Allowing for this difference we may compare for instance the dome of St. Sophia in Kiev, dating from the eleventh century.¹⁵ Here, too, angels stand guard around the central bust, while the four Evangelists in the pendentives act as pillars supporting the celestial vision. In this case the figures in the intermediate zone are apostles, but there are also examples of Pantokrator domes with prophets, for instance at Daphni (eleventh century)¹⁶ and in St. Sophia in Novgorod (probably early twelfth century),¹⁷ to quote only works which certainly precede the Cappella Palatina in point of time.

The Byzantine affinities of the dome decoration are obvious and easily documented. The iconographic program in the apses seems to be less dependent upon Byzantine conventions, but the situation there is obscured by later changes—at least in the central apse—and by drastic restorations and additions in modern times. Indeed, the problems posed by these apses are so complex that they would require a separate study. Suffice it to say that most or all of the figures in the central apse (Fig. 1)—and particularly the colossal figure of the Pantokrator (Fig. 23), which dominates the view and challenges, as it were, the supremacy of the Pantokrator in the summit of the dome—probably belong to a later phase than the bulk of the mosaics in the sanctuary;¹⁸ that we do not know what figures were originally planned for, and perhaps actually depicted in the central apse;¹⁹ and that the lateral apses (Fig. 1), which in Byzantium would normally be given over to holy bishops and other representations connected with the liturgy, were here filled with two large busts of apostles (Figs. 14, 15)²⁰ accompanied, apparently from the outset, by figures of saints whose relics were preserved in the apses.²¹

15. D. Ainalov, *Geschichte der russischen Monumentalkunst der vormoskowitzischen Zeit*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1932, pl. 4. The plate shows the dome with all its mosaics restored. Actually, when the mosaics were uncovered in 1885 only fragments were found, but these were sufficient to ascertain the layout as a whole. For a detailed description of these fragments see D. Ainalov and E. K. Riedin, "The Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev" (in Russian), *Zapiski of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society*, n.s. IV, 1890, pp. 258ff.

16. E. Diez and O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, figs. 54-63.

17. V. K. Myasoyedov, "Fragments of Fresco Painting in St. Sophia in Novgorod" (in Russian), *Zapiski of the Department of Russian and Slavonic Archaeology of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society*, x, 1915, pp. 15ff. and figs. 9-16. On the date, *ibid.*, p. 31.

18. For the date of the Pantokrator bust see below p. 288. It seems to belong to the advanced twelfth century. The two archangels flanking the Hetoimasia in the vault preceding the apse are completely restored. Whether they originally belonged to the same period as the Pantokrator I cannot say. Nor would I venture at this point an opinion on the date of the figures of St. Gregory and St. Sylvester placed beneath these angels. Buscemi (*op.cit.*, Note, p. 35) suggests that they might be of the thirteenth century, but without adequate reproductions it is impossible either to confirm or deny this. Of the five figures in the lower zone of the apse the seated Virgin in the center is

a modern work and takes the place of a window; it was executed by Santi Cardini, who was in charge of restorations from 1781 to 1825 (G. Riolo, *Notizie dei restauratori delle pitture a mosaico della R. Cappella Palatina*, Palermo, 1870, p. 31). The saints flanking the Virgin are St. Peter, St. Mary Magdalen, St. John the Baptist, and St. James. According to Riolo (*ibid.*, pp. 40ff.) the first three of these were restored by Cardini, who, however, respected the heads at least partially. The figures, then, would be basically old, though hardly older than the Pantokrator bust above. This conclusion seems to me preferable to Buscemi's assumption (*op.cit.*, Note, pp. 33f.) that the figures of St. Peter and St. Mary Magdalen were substituted for other saints in relatively modern times. For St. Peter, the titular saint of the church, see also footnote 20 below. The presence of St. John, but not that of St. Mary Magdalen and St. James, can be accounted for through the relics preserved in the main altar; cf. Buscemi, *op.cit.*, Note, p. 26.

19. It will be shown in the next footnote that a case can be made for St. Peter having originally had a more conspicuous place in the main apse than he has now. To give a place of honor in the main apse to the titular saint would be a definitely Western idea.

20. In the southern apse is St. Paul (Fig. 15). The figure, though heavily restored, is basically authentic and, as will be seen later, belongs in all likelihood to the original program (see below p. 287). The corresponding bust of St. Andrew in the northern apse (Fig. 14) is much more radically restored

It may well be significant that in the apses, where Greek orthodox custom demands a particularly close connection between imagery and liturgy, the deviation from the Byzantine norm seems to be considerable, but in view of the uncertainty as to the subject matter originally placed in the main apse it would be hazardous to insist on this point, the more so as there is at least one group of figures in this area which does perhaps reflect Greek liturgical practice.

The group referred to is on the wall above the northern apse and depicts the Virgin and Child with St. John the Baptist (Fig. 14). The image of the Virgin, as we shall see later, forms part of a larger scheme of mosaics which extends over the whole area of the transept and expresses a single unified idea.²² But this larger scheme did not necessitate the inclusion of St. John. His figure, smaller in scale than that of the Virgin and oddly squeezed into the leftmost part of the wall, in spite of the abundance of available space, seems all the more redundant as the Saint is represented already among the prophets and forerunners in the drum of the dome. Even the text on his scroll ("Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world," John 1, 29) is the same in both cases. Possibly the figure of St. John above the northern apse should not be connected with the Virgin at all, but with the mosaics originally placed on the adjoining north wall of the north wing, which have disappeared completely and have been replaced by fanciful compositions of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Fig. 6).²³ On the other hand, there are good iconographic parallels which place the Baptist in association with the Virgin and Child, and good liturgical reasons for such an association. An eleventh century miniature in ms 49 of the Pantokrator Monastery on Mt. Athos is particularly instructive because it shows a similar discrepancy of scale between the two figures.²⁴ Liturgically the Virgin and Child and the Baptist are connected through the rite of the Proskomidi, the preparation of the eucharist in the Greek Church.²⁵ In this rite the priest extracts from the eucharistic bread the central particle which bears

(also by S. Cardini, according to G. Riolo, *op.cit.*, pp. 40ff.) but even in this case it is still possible to discover a mediaeval nucleus which is not unlike that of the figure of St. Andrew in the Martorana (Bottari, *op.cit.*, Fig. 57). I therefore am inclined to believe that the figure represented St. Andrew from the outset and was not put there in the seventeenth century to replace an original bust of St. Peter as Buscemi suggested (*op.cit.*, p. 37; *Note*, pp. 34, 39). Buscemi reasoned that the original pendant to the bust of St. Paul could only have been St. Peter and that some special event must have caused the replacement of his figure by that of St. Andrew. This event, he assumed, was the disappearance of the Chapel of St. Andrew which we know was a dependency of the Cappella Palatina from the very beginning (see the document of 1132 quoted in footnote 2 above) and which he says was destroyed perhaps in the seventeenth century (p. 37). It was then that, according to Buscemi, St. Andrew was put in the northern apse while St. Peter wandered into the main apse. Buscemi's theory was taken over by numerous other writers, including Boglino (*op.cit.*, p. 22), who, however, places the disappearance of the Chapel of St. Andrew in the first half of the sixteenth century. In reality neither the sixteenth nor the seventeenth century seems to be responsible for the figures of St. Andrew and St. Peter. Both appear to have a mediaeval nucleus and both were thoroughly restored in the late eighteenth century according to G. Riolo. It is in any case unlikely that St. Peter, the titular saint of the Cappella Palatina, should have been relegated to his present inconspicuous place in order to make room for St. Andrew. Instead I would suggest that St. Andrew, to whom the first dependency of the Palatine Chapel was dedicated, always occupied the northern apse and that St. Peter originally occupied a more prominent place in the main apse and was put into his present minor position in the advanced twelfth century in order to make room for the Pantokrator.

21. In the southern apse, beneath St. Paul, are St. Philip and St. Sebastian. In the northern apse, beneath St. Andrew, are St. Stephen and St. Barnabas. For the relics of these saints in the respective altars, see Buscemi, *op.cit.*, *Note*, p. 26. Cf. also Grabar, *Martyrium*, I, pp. 561ff., for relics in palace chapels.

The central figures in both apses are modern work by Cardini and take the place of windows, as does the Virgin in the main apse (see above footnote 18).

22. See below, p. 285.

23. The fact that St. John now seems to point to the Virgin need not necessarily militate against such an assumption, since his gesture might be the result of a restoration. If the figure of St. John were to be connected with a scene originally placed on the northern wall—presumably a Passion scene, as we shall see later—his eccentric position would find a natural explanation: he was removed as far as possible from the Virgin so as to show that he belongs to a different context. He would be a commentator with a prophetic text and would be exactly comparable to the figures of Isaiah and Joel in the opposite wing of the transept with prophecies likewise referring to scenes on adjoining walls (see below, footnote 32). It is interesting to note that the eighteenth century artist who designed the mosaic now on the adjoining right half of the northern wall definitely considered the figure of St. John as belonging to that wall, since he chose as his subject the "Lamb of God" (Fig. 6), of which the prophecy on the Saint's scroll speaks.

24. V. Lasareff, "Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin," *ART BULLETIN*, XX, 1938, p. 32, fig. 7. O. Demus in his forthcoming book adduces this miniature as a parallel to the Cappella Palatina mosaic. Other pertinent examples are frescoes in S. Vito dei Normanni, where the Baptist is flanked by the Virgin and Child and by Pope Clement (A. Medea, *Gli Affreschi delle cripte eremitiche pugliesi*, Rome, 1939, p. 101 and fig. 47), and in the church of Nereditsa, where the Virgin and St. John form pendants in the two lateral apses (J. Ebersolt, "Fresques Byzantines de Néréditsa," *Monuments Piot*, XIII, 1906, pl. IV). Cf. also an ivory at Dumbarton Oaks (H. Peirce and R. Tyler, "Three Byzantine Works of Art," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, II, 1941, pp. 11ff.) and an icon published by Xyngopoulos in *Cahiers archéologiques*, III, 1948, pp. 114ff. (see *ibid.*, pp. 126f. and n. 6, for further parallels).

25. For this rite, cf. Xyngopoulos, *op.cit.*, p. 125, and the literature quoted by him.

the seal of Christ and which is called the Lamb ("Amnos"). Byzantine liturgists likened the position of the "Amnos" in the center of the bread to the Divine Son in the womb of the Virgin Mary.²⁶ The rite is accompanied by the words of the Baptist referring to the Lamb of God (John 1, 29),²⁷ and takes place in the prothesis, the northern apse of the church. It can hardly be pure coincidence when we find in the Cappella Palatina above the northern apse the Virgin and Child and St. John with his prophecy referring to the "Lamb." The group appears as a perfect illustration of the Proskomidi, more perfect than any extant example in a church of the Greek rite, though there are well-known instances in the East where either the Virgin or St. John occupy a prominent place in the prothesis.²⁸

Thus the two figures may represent a piece of Greek apsidal decoration retained more or less mechanically in a church of the Latin rite. But since at present very little is known about the liturgical practices in Norman Sicily it would be unwise to rule out *a priori* the possibility that the two figures were intended to provide an appropriate and meaningful background for a ceremony which may actually have taken place, at least on occasion, in the apse beneath.²⁹ Whichever solution is the correct one we shall see later that the figure of the Virgin was in addition invested with another function of an entirely different order.

The decoration in the main area beneath the dome in a Greek *naos* normally comprises two elements: a cycle of the life of Christ and a hierarchy of saints.³⁰ We descend from the heavenly sphere of the All-Ruler to the earth, the scene of his incarnate life and the sphere of action of his saints and martyrs. It is precisely these two elements that also form the subject of the decoration in the main area of the sanctuary of the Cappella Palatina, an area which includes, in addition to the square beneath the dome, the two wings on either side.

The hierarchy of saints is much abbreviated. Rows of martyrs are placed in medallions on the soffits of the arches supporting the dome (Figs. 1-4), a position they often occupy also in Greek churches.³¹ Many of these martyrs are holy warriors. We are reminded of Hosios Lukas, where warrior saints are in sole and obviously symbolic possession of the arches on which the dome with its celestial inhabitants rests. In the Cappella Palatina, however, some of the most important warrior saints, including St. Demetrius, are not on the soffits, but on the outer, i.e. northern, face of the northern arch, out of sight of the beholder standing in the central area of the church. This curious disposition will be the subject of further comment later. The medallions on the inner faces of the northern and southern arches do not represent saints but Old Testament prophets (Figs. 3-5); they are a sequel to the series of prophets that starts in the dome, and this series comes to an end on the outer face of the southern arch, where there are five prophets corresponding to the group of warrior saints just mentioned.³² The hierarchy of saints continues with figures of

26. Cf. e.g. Theodore of Andida (Migne, PG, CXL, col. 429; also col. 425).

27. F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1896, p. 357, line 15.

28. Cf. e.g. the figure of St. John in the prothesis at Daphni and that of the Virgin and Child in the prothesis at Nereditsa. See also the parallels given by Ebersolt, *op.cit.*, pp. 44f., and Xyngopoulos, *op.cit.*, p. 124ff., both of whom interpret these figures in the light of the symbolism of the Proskomidi.

29. When G. Di Marzo says (*Delle belle arti in Sicilia*, I, Palermo, 1858, p. 108) that in Norman Sicily the lateral apses served "alle preparazioni," he probably has in mind primarily the offertory procession (cf. Buscemi, *op.cit.*, Note, p. 25, with a quotation from a document from Cefalù, which indicates that this procession still took place in Sicily in the twelfth century; Buscemi interprets the passage as implying that the faithful deposited their offerings on the altar of the northern apse). Aside from this, however, it may be assumed that mass was celebrated occasionally in the Cappella Palatina according to the Greek rite. Since the Greek clergy still had the use of the Chapel on certain specified days of the year as late as A.D. 1274

(Garofalo, *op.cit.*, p. 78), it is reasonable to suppose that in Norman times, when they were much more powerful, the Greeks, at the least, enjoyed an equal privilege.

30. Cf. the "classical" examples of the eleventh century in Greece: Hosios Lukas, Chios, and Daphni (Diez and Demus, *op.cit.*). The closest comparisons for the Cappella Palatina are provided by fresco decorations of Russian churches of the twelfth century, where saints and christological scenes are not confined to individual niches and panels, but cover the entire wall surfaces in serried rows: e.g. Nereditsa (Ebersolt, *op.cit.*, pp. 47ff., figs. 5, 6; V. K. Myasoyedov, *Frescoes of Spas-Nereditsa* [in Russian], Leningrad, 1925, pl. 58) and the church of the Mirozh Monastery in Pskov (cf. the plates in A. I. Uspenskij, *Notices on the History of Russian Art* [in Russian], Moscow, 1910, pp. 139ff.).

31. For a list of these martyrs see Buscemi, *op.cit.*, pp. 32, 37, 39.

32. Unfortunately no reproductions of any kind are available of these two highly important groups of figures on the outer faces of the northern and southern arches. On the south side of the southern arch are three medallions with busts of

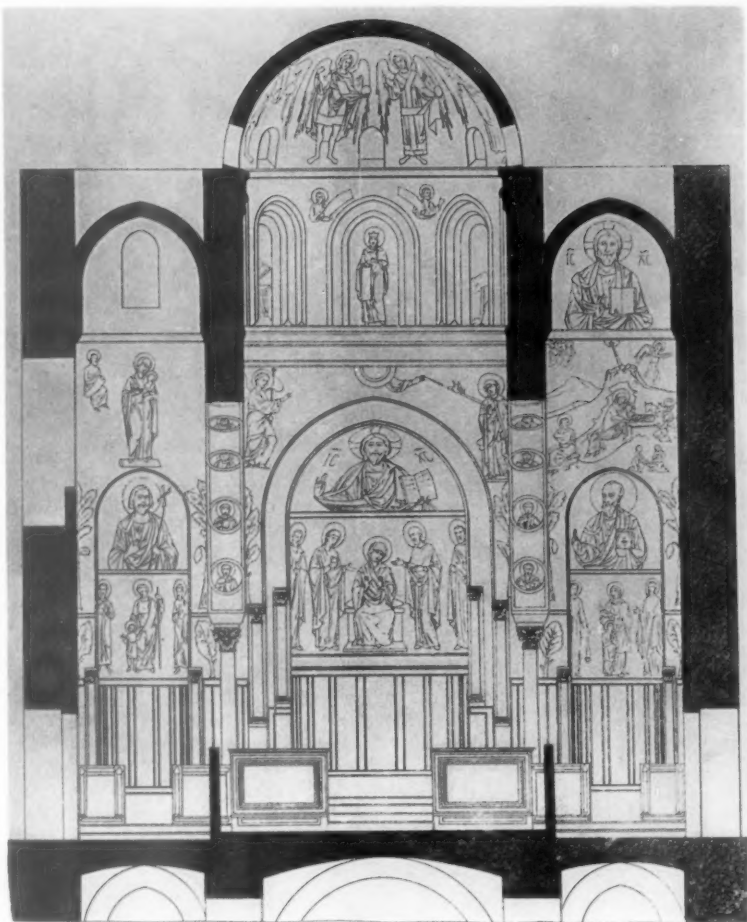


FIG. 1. Cappella Palatina, Sanctuary, transversal section, looking east (after Terzi)

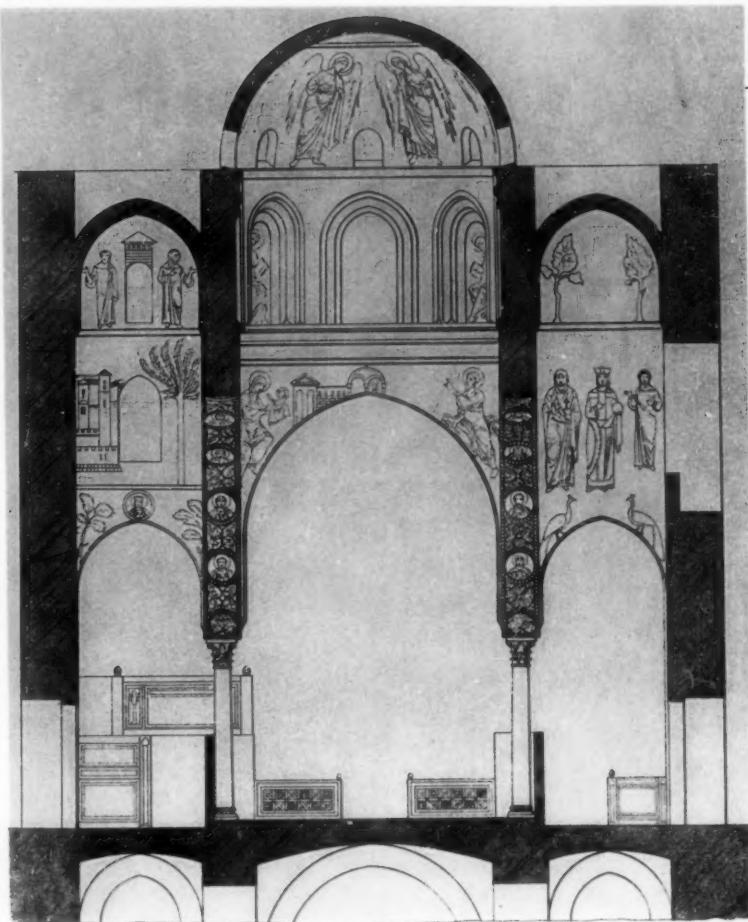


FIG. 2. Cappella Palatina, Sanctuary, transversal section, looking west (after Terzi)

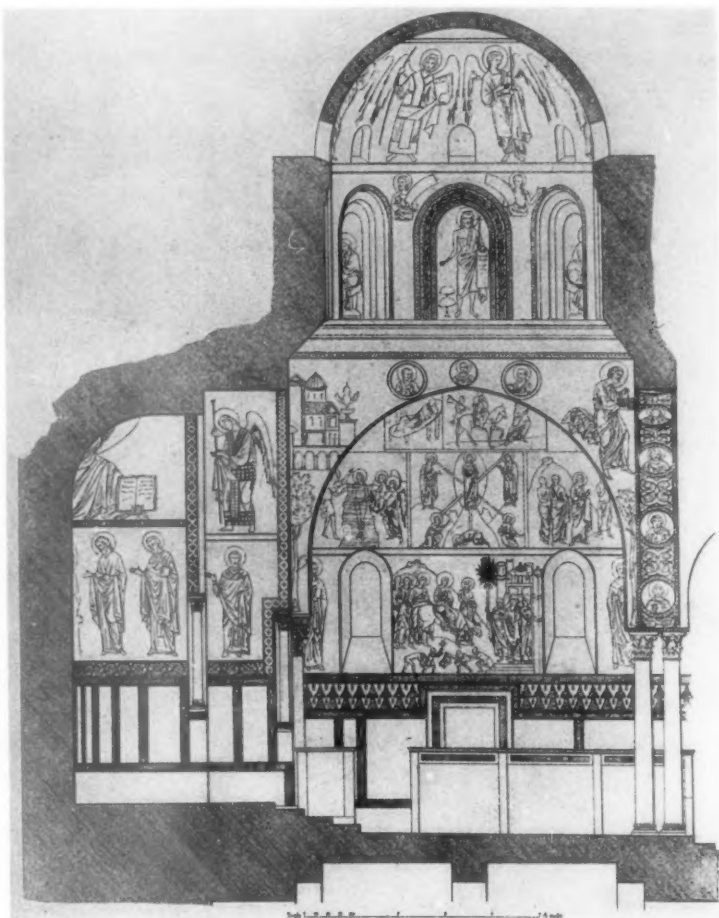


FIG. 3. Cappella Palatina, Sanctuary, longitudinal section, looking south (after Terzi)

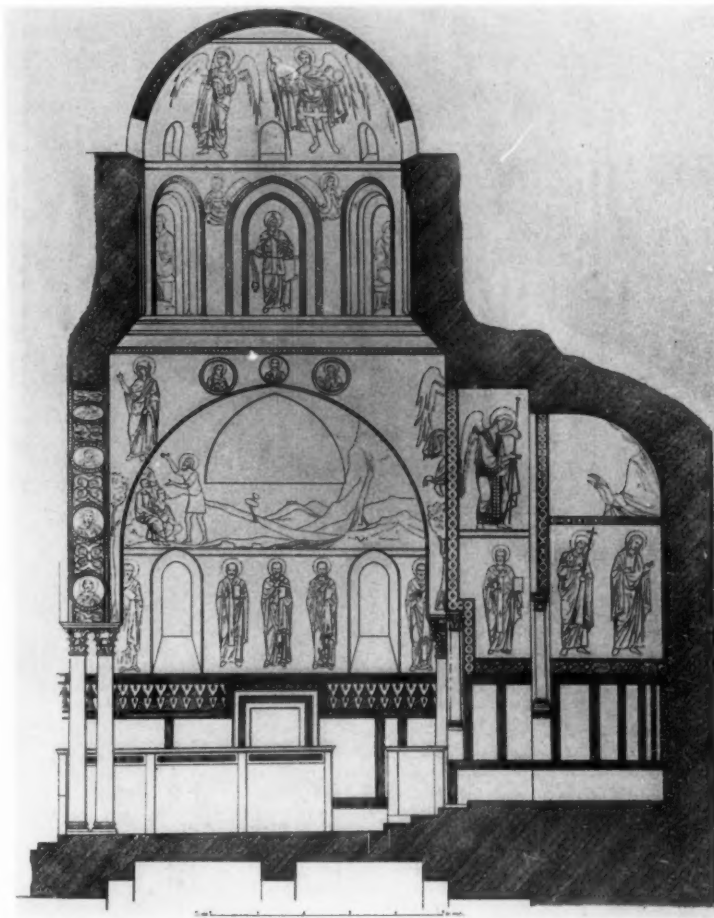


FIG. 4. Cappella Palatina, Sanctuary, longitudinal section, looking north (after Terzi)

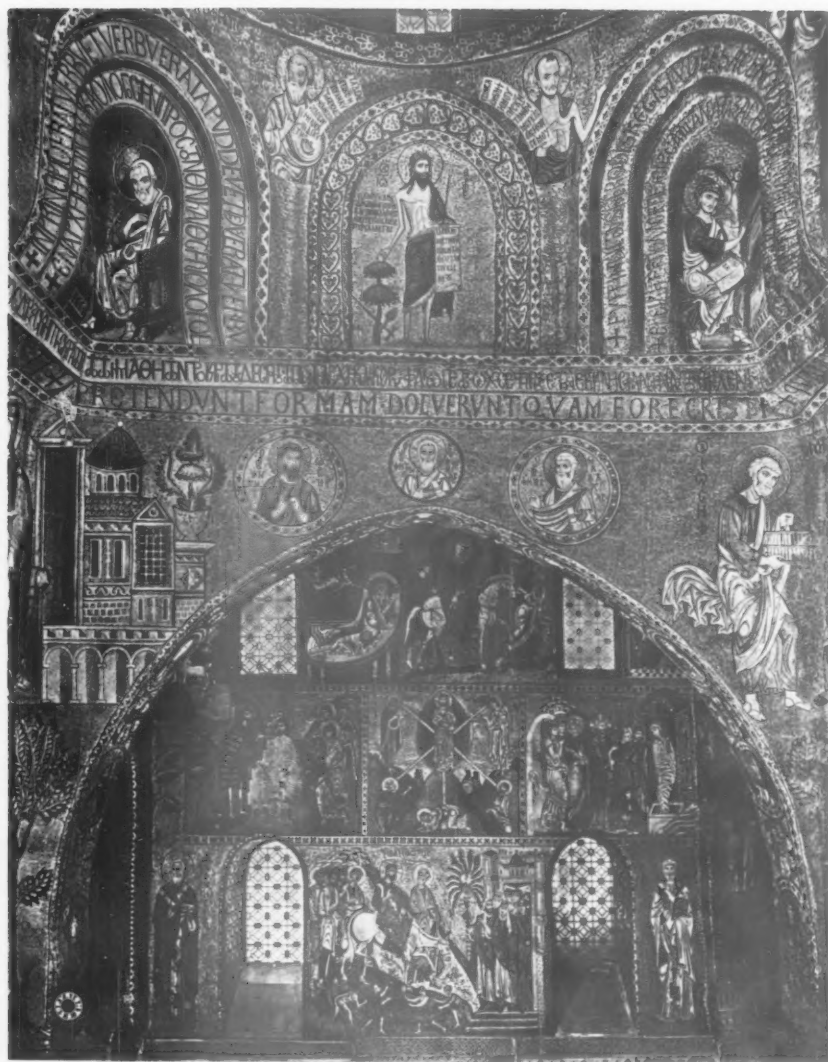


FIG. 5. Cappella Palatina, View across transept, looking south



FIG. 6. Cappella Palatina, Transept, northern wall

holy bishops on the outer walls of the two wings.³³ On the northern wall of the northern wing (Fig. 6) are five famous bishops of the Greek church (Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianz, John Chrysostom, and Nicholas of Myra) confronted on the southern wall of the southern wing by St. Dionysius and St. Martin (Fig. 5). Finally, on the western wall of the northern wing are three holy women (Fig. 16), and in the soffits of the arches leading from the transept wings into the aisles of the nave holy physicians (*anargyroi*). These two groups are a regular part of the hierarchy of saints in Greek churches and are commonly placed toward the west.

The cycle of the life of Christ begins with the Annunciation on the eastern arch of the central square (Fig. 1). It continues, on the same level, in the southern wing, where we find on the eastern wall the Nativity with the Adoration of the Magi and the Annunciation to the Shepherds (Fig. 15). The panel is "folded over" onto the southern wall, where the cycle continues with the Dream of Joseph and the Flight into Egypt (Fig. 7). This latter scene is again "folded over" and continues on the western wall of the southern wing (Fig. 2). Thence we return to the central square where we find, still on the same level, the Presentation in the Temple. The main part of this scene occupies the western arch (Fig. 12), but Joseph and the Prophetess Anne are placed on adjoining spaces of the southern and northern arch respectively (Figs. 3-5). The cycle now descends to a lower zone in the southern wing where we find the Baptism, the Transfiguration, and the Raising of Lazarus, and, in a third zone, the Entry into Jerusalem (Figs. 5, 8). There it apparently stops. The corresponding wall in the northern wing, which would seem to be a logical place for a continuation, is occupied in its lower half by the five figures of Greek bishops previously referred to. Above these is the arched opening of a balcony or loggia (Fig. 6). What wall space is left around this opening is covered by the eighteenth and nineteenth century mosaics already mentioned. These mosaics were executed after the wall in this area had been disturbed, first by the installation and afterwards the removal of a wooden box in which the Bourbon court sat during the service.³⁴ The christological cycle does, however, continue above this area, for in the barrel vault of the northern wing we find the Ascension³⁵ and in the corresponding vault in the southern wing the Pentecost (Fig. 19). What is missing, then, is a sequence of Passion and post-Passion scenes between the Entry into Jerusalem in the southern wing and the Ascension in the northern wing, but matching this gap there is a free wall space on the northern wall of the northern wing.

We may assume with some confidence that this wall space originally accommodated the scenes which are needed to complete the illustration of the life of Christ. It is striking that with the exception of the Flight into Egypt (which, as we shall see, has a special *raison d'être* in the Cappella Palatina) the ten extant scenes occur regularly in the so-called "cycle of the twelve feasts of the Lord," a cycle which, in spite of a good deal of variation in practice, constitutes a kind of standard minimum for the illustration of the life of Christ in later Byzantine art.³⁶ The only two additional scenes which are absolutely essential to any "feast cycle" are the Crucifixion and the Anastasis (Descent into Hell).³⁷ Assuming that the arched opening in the upper part of the northern wall is an original feature of the architecture—and we shall have more to say about this later—there would still be room for these two pictures in the area now occupied by

Samuel, Micha, and Joshua flanked by two full-length figures of Joel and Isaiah. The latter do not belong to the series of prophets that starts in the dome, but to adjoining christological scenes. Isaiah holds a prophecy (Is. VII, 14) referring to the Nativity on the eastern wall, Joel a text pertaining to the Pentecost scene in the vault above (see below, p. 278). For the saints on the northern side of the northern arch see below, pp. 284f.

33. In Greek churches holy bishops are usually placed in or near the apses. There are, however, instances where some of the most important bishops are placed in conspicuous positions in the *naos* (e.g. Hosios Lukas).

34. For this royal box see below, pp. 283f.

35. Erroneously referred to by earlier writers as the Assumption of the Virgin. The mosaic, which is badly restored, apparently has never been reproduced.

36. For the "feast cycle" cf. G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'Iconographie de l'Evangile*, Paris, 1916, pp. 15ff. A poem on the "feasts of the Lord" (*ibid.*, p. 21) attributed to John Euchaites (eleventh century) or Theodore Prodromos (twelfth century) enumerates twelve events, including all those that are depicted in the Palatina, with the sole difference that the Circumcision (rarely represented in Byzantine art) takes the place of the Flight into Egypt. For the limited validity of the term "feast cycle," cf. Grabar, *Martyrium*, II, p. 333.

37. Cf. the table Millet, *op.cit.*, p. 23.

mosaics of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.³⁸ If this reconstruction is correct the sanctuary of the Cappella Palatina originally contained what amounts to a standard version of the Byzantine iconography of the life of Christ.

III

As the description has shown, the themes depicted in the eastern part of the Chapel—with the possible exception of those in the apses—are those normally found in domed, centralized churches in the Greek and Slavonic world in the same period. But the description has also brought out certain peculiarities in the arrangement of these themes. The chief anomaly is the asymmetric distribution of the mosaics in the two wings of the transept. Not only is there a lack of balance between the figures on the outer faces of the northern and southern arches, but the whole New Testament cycle seems to be weighted to one side. Allowing even for two additional scenes in the northern wing the southern wing still has a larger share of subjects from the life of Christ. In the northern wing there are no scenes, but only figures of saints, in positions corresponding to the Nativity, the Entry into Jerusalem, and that part of the Flight into Egypt which is on the western wall.³⁹ When we consider that there was not so very much space for representations from the life of Christ in the first place and that more events could easily have been included, particularly in the Passion and post-Passion sequence, without unduly expanding the "narrative" element, it is certainly striking that the space in the northern wing was not utilized fully for the christological scenes. The asymmetry of the decoration in the two wings is anything but normal, and, as we shall see later, highly purposeful.

Let us now examine more closely the christological cycle. Evidently some scenes have received greater emphasis than others. The Annunciation and the Presentation in the Temple have been placed in very honored positions immediately beneath the dome. It seems that in order to be able to place the Presentation in the Temple in the central square the artist has spun out the preceding scene, the Flight into Egypt, in extraordinary fashion.⁴⁰ He has included not only a personification of "Egypt" reverently receiving the Christ Child, he has developed the city gate, in front of which the reception takes place, into an elaborate piece of architecture followed in turn by a large palm tree. Thus he has contrived to place considerable emphasis also on this scene which fills not only almost the entire width of the southern wall of the southern wing but the adjoining western wall as well (Figs. 2, 5, 7). Indeed, together with the Dream of Joseph, which belongs to it, the Flight covers as much wall space as the three scenes of the next lower zone combined, a fact which is all the more remarkable since it is the only one among the extant christological subjects in the Chapel that we have noted as an unnecessary representation in a "feast cycle." The Entry

38. It is quite possible that this hypothetical reconstruction of the missing part of the cycle can be tested by means of a thorough scrutiny of the wall area in question. The eighteenth century landscape with the "Agnus Dei" to the right of the arched opening (Fig. 6) is not altogether homogeneous and traces of the earlier work which it was meant to replace may still be extant in this area (cf. the photograph Anderson no. 29937). It would be highly desirable to carry out this investigation.

39. It is not quite certain that the five Greek bishops on the northern wall are an original part of the decoration (see below, footnote 91). But they can hardly have been put there—after what would be in any case only a short time interval—to replace any christological scenes.

40. For the sequence—Nativity, Adoration of Magi, Flight into Egypt, Presentation in the Temple—which we find also in Monreale, cf. several of the Cappadocian cycles: e.g. Qeledjar (G. de Jerphanion, *Les Eglises rupestres de Cappadoce*, 1, 1, Paris, 1925, p. 205); Toqale, New Church (*ibid.*, 1, 2, 1932,

pp. 310f.); Sts. Apostles (*ibid.*, II, 1, 1936, pp. 67f.). Since the story of the Magi and that of the Massacre of the Innocents are interrelated it is almost inevitable that in cases where the Adoration of the Magi is combined with the Nativity (as in the Palatina) the Presentation in the Temple, though depicting an event which took place only forty days after Christ's birth, should be placed after the Flight (or any other event connected with the Massacre). The difficulty can be avoided by taking the Presentation out of the cycle altogether, as is the case in the Old Church at Toqale (Jerphanion, *ibid.*, 1, 1, pp. 269, 286). In the Cappella Palatina the Presentation clearly follows after the Flight into Egypt, though at the same time it is somewhat isolated from the sequence (cf. also below, p. 282). For the problems involved in the arrangement of these Childhood scenes, cf. G. de Jerphanion, *La Voix des monuments*, n.s., Rome and Paris, 1938, pp. 218ff.; A. De Capitani d'Arzago, in: G. P. Bognetti, etc., *Santa Maria di Castelseprio*, Milan, 1948, p. 594.

into Jerusalem also has been given a conspicuous and relatively large space, in fact one of the most favored places in the whole church. Finally, there are two scenes which have been allotted an entire vault each, the Ascension and the Pentecost.

Byzantine convention accounts for the placing of at least three of these scenes, the Annunciation, the Ascension, and the Pentecost. The first two need not detain us for more than a moment. The Annunciation was frequently placed on the eastern arch, for this arch, beyond which only the priest can pass, was interpreted symbolically as Ezekiel's eastern gate, through which no man shall enter because the Lord has entered in by it (Ez. XLIV, 1-2); that is to say, it was a symbol of the Miraculous Conception which the Annunciation represents.⁴¹ The Ascension is one of the standard themes for domes and vaults.⁴² The composition of the scene in the Cappella Palatina agrees completely, for instance, with that of the dome of St. Sophia in Salonika,⁴³ except that, owing to the restricted space, the full-length figure of Christ has been replaced by a bust. Evidently the artist treated the barrel vault as though it were an elongated dome. This could be said also of the Pentecost opposite (Fig. 19). But here the deviations from the Byzantine norm, as exemplified for instance by the presbytery dome of Hosios Lukas,⁴⁴ are more considerable and require a somewhat more detailed discussion.

The artist has made effective use of architectural conditions by placing in the two lunettes at either end of the barrel vault (Figs. 1, 2), on the one hand, two Jews,⁴⁵ to represent the nations who are to be converted by the apostles, and, on the other, a bust of Christ with an open book inscribed with the words of John VIII, 12: "I am the light of the world; he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness but shall have the light of life" (Fig. 21). The unbelievers are made to look, as it were, straight into the "light." The symbolism of the light which is to illuminate mankind plays a conspicuous role in both Eastern and Western liturgical and homiletic texts pertaining to Pentecost.⁴⁶ We also know that the conversion of the Jews was a particular concern of Roger II toward the end of his reign,⁴⁷ the precise period, as we shall see, during which these mosaics appear to have been made.⁴⁸ It was an ingenious idea to single out among the Races and Tongues frequently represented in Pentecost scenes the Jews and to confront them with the figure of Christ. But this latter feature also betrays the fact that we are here remote from the sphere of orthodox theology. It probably would be difficult to find anywhere in Byzantine art a representation of Pentecost in which the Deity is depicted in anthropomorphic shape. The presence of this figure might easily suggest to a beholder that the Son could be a source of the Holy Spirit and this thought was, of course, anathema to the Greek Church, which had parted company with

41. Ainalov and Riedin, *op.cit.* (see footnote 15), pp. 286f., *à propos* the Annunciation on the eastern arch of St. Sophia in Kiev. The same arrangement occurs in other churches in Russia: Kiev, St. Cyril (A. V. Prachov, "Monuments of Byzantino-Russian Art in Kiev" [in Russian], *Drevnosti. Trudy of the Imperial Archaeological Society in Moscow*, XI, 3, 1887, p. 17); Pskov, Mirozh Monastery (J. A. Olsufyev, "Recent Restorations of Ancient Russian Frescoes," *ART BULLETIN*, XX, 1938, p. 109, figs. 5, 6); Nereditsa (Myasoyedov, *op.cit.* [see footnote 30], pl. 38). An interesting case in the West is the cycle of Ezekiel scenes on the vault of the lower church at Schwarzhheindorf. The vision of the Lord's Entry through the Eastern Gate is placed toward the east at the entrance to the chancel; a fragment of an inscription on the arch underneath mentions the Virgin Mary (P. Clemen, *Die Romanische Monumentalmalerei in den Rheinlanden*, Düsseldorf, 1916, pp. 293f. and pl. XIX).

42. O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*, London, 1947, pp. 17ff.

43. Ch. Diehl, M. Le Tourneau, H. Saladin, *Les Monuments chrétiens de Salonique*, Paris, 1918, pl. XLV.

44. E. Diez and O. Demus, *op.cit.*, pl. v.

45. The two figures, barely visible on Fig. 19, were identi-

fied correctly as Jews by G. Di Marzo, *op.cit.*, II, p. 72, on the strength of the similarity of their costumes with those of the Jerusalemites in the scene of Christ's Entry. The "Iudei" represented among the "Races and Tongues" in the Pentecost dome in St. Mark's in Venice are also very similar (cf. the photograph by Alinari, pt. 2, no. 13742).

46. Cf. several prayers for Whitsun Eve and Whitsunday in the Roman Missal, particularly the prayer *Praesta Quaesumus* on Whitsun Eve (Migne, *PL*, LXXVIII, cols. 110f.) and prayers for Whitsunday in the Pentekostarion (Athens edition, pp. 210ff.). Among homiletic texts we may single out one that is close to our mosaics in time and space, the peroration of the Pentecost homily of Philagathos ("Theophanes Kerameus"): 'ΑΛΛ', ὦ παράκλητε Θεέ, Πατὴρ καὶ Υἱὸς ὁμοούσιε, καὶ σύνθρονε, καὶ ὁμότιμε! ὦ φῶς αὐτολαμπὲς ἐκ φωτὸς προῖον τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ μένον ἐν φωτὶ τῷ Χριστῷ, καὶ φοιτῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς δι' αὐτοῦ, πάρεσο καὶ ἡμῖν . . . , etc. (Migne, *PG*, CXXXII, col. 784; for the identity of the author see below, footnote 68).

47. Cf. Romuald of Salerno (see above, footnote 4), p. 236: [Roger II] *circa finem . . . vite sue secularibus negotiis aliquantulum postpositis et ommissis Iudeos et Sarracenos ad fidem Christi convertere modis omnibus laborabat. . .*

48. See below, pp. 287f.

the Latin over the question of the "*filiouque*." In the West Christ occurs in Pentecost scenes quite frequently.⁴⁹

The figure of Christ was, however, perhaps not solely intended as a pendant to the Jews in the western lunette. It occupies the center between two rows of apostles, who, unlike the apostles in Byzantine Pentecost domes, are placed on continuous rather than individual seats. The resulting composition is curiously reminiscent of the main group of figures in scenes of the Last Judgment.⁵⁰ The presence of the four archangels in the summit of the vault perhaps also suggests an eschatological context rather than Pentecost. It is indeed possible that the mosaic, though clearly representing the Descent of the Holy Ghost, was also meant to imply the Second Coming at the end of time. Beneath the vault, among the prophets on the outer face of the arch separating the southern wing from the central square, there is a figure of the Prophet Joel, who plays the role of commentator to the Pentecost scene.⁵¹ He holds up, toward the scene in the vault, a scroll inscribed with the prophecy in which he foretold the descent of the Spirit. But the words are not those of the prophet himself as recorded in Chapter II, verse 28 of the Book of Joel ("And it shall come to pass afterward that I will pour out my spirit"). Instead the mosaicist has put on the scroll the words of Joel as quoted by St. Peter in Acts II, 17, a quotation which includes the significant change: "And it shall come to pass *in the last days*, saith God, I will pour out of my spirit." The fact that the version from Acts was chosen rather than that from the Book of Joel itself may well mean that the artist was aware of and wished to underline certain eschatological overtones of the scene. This eschatological meaning was clearly intended by the writer of Acts himself⁵² and was elaborated in patristic and mediaeval literature. Various more or less far-fetched reasons were given why Pentecost is a forerunner, a "figure" of the Last Things.⁵³ These ideas were known in Sicily in the twelfth century.⁵⁴ Within the realm of iconography there are other instances, aside from the mosaic in the Palatina, where the Pentecost scene may have been intended to embrace the events at the end of time as well.⁵⁵

49. Cf. e.g. the Sacramentary of Drogo, initial for collect of Whitsunday (L. Weber, *Einbanddecken, Elfenbeintafeln, Miniaturen, Schriftproben aus Metzger liturgischen Handschriften*, I, Metz and Frankfurt a.M., 1913, pl. 17,2); Lectionary from St. Trond, Belgium (E. G. Millar, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts*, Oxford, 1927, I, pl. 68c); Missal of Limoges, Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms lat. 9438, fol. 87 (M. Lafargue, *Les Chapiteaux du cloître de Notre-Dame la Daurade*, Paris, 1940, pl. 21); New Testament MS, Vat. lat. 39 (A. Fabre, "L'Iconographie de la Pentecôte," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXV, 1923, 2, p. 37). The scene in the Cluny Lectionary (Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 2246, fol. 79v) does not illustrate the Pentecost proper (Fabre, *op.cit.*, pp. 36ff.). But we may add a South Italian example, a relief on the Farfa ivory box: H. Bloch, *op.cit.* (above, footnote 13), fig. 252.

50. Cf. particularly the twelfth century fresco of the Last Judgment in the Demetrius Church in Vladimir, where the two rows of apostles are placed on either side of a barrel vault, as they are in the Cappella Palatina. The figure of Christ, now destroyed, must have been in the lunette between them (I. Grabar, *Die Freskomalerei der Dimitrijkirche in Vladimir*, Berlin, n.d., pls. II, III and pp. 41ff.). The placing of the apostles on continuous seats, without a figure of Christ in the center, would not alone be sufficient to establish, even tentatively, a relationship between our mosaic and scenes of the Last Judgment.

51. For this figure see above, footnote 32. The fact that the figure belongs to the Pentecost scene is made abundantly clear by the verses which are placed on the band at the base of the vault:

*Fit sonus e coelis et iuxta scripta Johelis
Imbuit affatus sancti vehementia flatus
Pectora mundorum succendens discipulorum
Ut vite verbum per eos terat omne superbum*

52. Cf. K. Lake, in: F. J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, pt. 1, *The Acts of the Apostles*, v, London, 1933, p. 113.

53. The argument may be found in both Eastern and Western writings. It is bound up with the symbolism of the number 50 (= 7 × 7 + 1). The Jewish jubilee year, the Lord's rest on the seventh day of Creation, and the idea that the world will come to an end with the completion of the seventh age all combine to make of Pentecost a *figura futurae resurrectionis* (Isidorus, *De eccles. officiis*, I, 34; Migne, PL, LXXXIII, cols. 768f.) and a "*typos* of the Day of Remission, the Day Without Evening" (Leo the Wise, *Oratio XII*; Migne, PG, CVII, cols. 124f.).

54. Cf. the Pentecost homily of Philagathos (see above, footnote 46 and below, footnote 68): . . . οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ καιρῷ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν Πεντηκοστὴν ταῦτα γίνεται τῆς μελλούσης ἡμέρας ἐστὶν ἀπεικόνισμα, καθ' ἣν τὸν ἐβδοματικὸν χρόνον πληρώσαντες εἰς τὴν τελείαν Πεντηκοστὴν καταντήσομεν, ἥς τύπος αὕτη καθέστηκε (Migne, PG, CXXXII, cols. 764f.; for the idea of universal resurrection at the end of the "sevenfold time" see also *ibid.*, cols. 149ff.).

55. There are, of course, numerous instances in which the Pentecost forms the concluding scene in a christological cycle. No secondary meaning need be intended in every such case. But it is perhaps significant that in certain programs which include, in addition to a christological cycle, the scene of the Last Judgment the Pentecost is omitted. The omission is particularly striking in the fresco decoration at Sant' Angelo in Formis, where the christological cycle is otherwise very rich and detailed; it concludes with the Ascension at the eastern end of the northern wall and is followed by the Last Judgment on the western wall (G. de Jerphanion, *La Voix des monuments*, Paris, 1930, pp. 265, 280). The equally rich cycle at Nereditsa probably provides a parallel case. In this decoration, which also includes a Last Judgment on the western wall, the

If this interpretation of our mosaic is correct, the position of the Christ bust is doubly meaningful. For we may then assume that it is meant to be related not only to the figures of the Jews opposite but also to the scene of the Nativity immediately below. It would be an image of the Christ of the Second Coming, towering magnificently over the humble scene of his First Epiphany. The bust would be, so to speak, a hinge marking the place where the sequence of scenes, having circled the entire sanctuary, returns to its starting point. It would be a link tying together the beginning and the ultimate climax of the Christ story in a dramatic contrast.

IV

We have been able to account through Byzantine conventions for three of the scenes prominently placed in the sanctuary of the Palatine Chapel. We still have to explain the emphasis placed on the Flight into Egypt, the Presentation in the Temple, and the Entry into Jerusalem. These are the three events in the life of Christ which in Early Christian iconography were conceived of in terms of the triumphal progress and solemn reception of a ruler, or, to use classical expressions, as the king's *profectio*, *adventus*, and *occursus*. The subject has been discussed fully and brilliantly in recent years.⁵⁶ In our present context the briefest summary must suffice. Invested with a messianic meaning ever since Hellenistic times the *adventus* ceremonial assumed considerable importance as a part of the Roman emperor cult. The emperor's arrival in a particular city or country was likened to, or symbolically interpreted as, the epiphany of the world savior. The scene is reflected in Roman imperial iconography,⁵⁷ where we may distinguish between a more "realistic" type of *adventus* scene, showing the emperor followed by his retinue and a crowd welcoming him

life of Christ apparently comes to an end with the Ascension in the central dome; we cannot be quite sure, however, that the Pentecost was not represented among the frescoes now lost (for references see above, footnotes 24, 30). Among several other early Russian church decorations which include the Last Judgment, there is none which has the Pentecost scene as well. But since most of these decorations are very imperfectly preserved no conclusions should be based on this fact. On the other hand, the case of the mid-twelfth century decoration in the church of the Mirozh Monastery in Pskov may be significant. Here the place over the main entrance—so often given over to the Last Judgment in Russian churches of this period—is occupied by the Pentecost scene (I. Tolstoi and N. Kondakov, *Russian Antiquities in Monuments of Art* [in Russian], VI, St. Petersburg, 1899, p. 184 and fig. 227). The Last Judgment was apparently omitted. Tolstoi and Kondakov, *op.cit.*, p. 179, mention a "Last Judgment on the western wall," but this is probably a mistake; the scene is referred to neither in N. V. Pokrovskij's detailed description of the Pskov frescoes in his *Notices of Monuments of Christian Art and Iconography* (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1910, pp. 253ff., nor in I. Grabar's list of early representations of the Last Judgment in Russian churches, *op.cit.*, p. 32. It does seem, then, that Pentecost and Last Judgment were sometimes considered as interchangeable subjects, as indeed they might be, in the light of the texts quoted in the preceding footnotes. Certain twelfth century representations in the West seem to combine features of the Pentecost scene with eschatological elements (cf. H. Focillon's comments on the northern apse at St. Gilles at Montoire in *Peintures romanes des églises de France*, Paris, 1938, pp. 40f., and A. Katzenellenbogen's interpretation of the tympanum at Vézelay as a "telescoped" representation of various phases of the mission of the apostles, including the Descent of the Holy Spirit and the Judgment of Mankind: *ART BULLETIN*, XXVI, 1944, pp. 141ff.). These observations naturally bring up the problem of the late twelfth century mosaic on the triumphal arch of the Abbey Church of Grottaferrata, a work commonly ascribed to Sicilian artists. The mosaic (J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten*

vom 4. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert, Freiburg, 1916, IV, pl. 300) clearly depicts the Descent of the Holy Spirit. But in the center, between the two groups of six apostles, is a medallion with the apocalyptic lamb. The empty throne, which is to be seen above the lamb, was put there in modern times and we do not know what was in its place originally (on this question cf. A. Baumstark, "Il Mosaico degli apostoli nella Chiesa Abbaziale di Grottaferrata," *Oriens Christianus*, IV, 1904, pp. 132ff. and Wilpert, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 915f.). In any case the eschatological meaning of the scene was clearly brought out in the verses which once accompanied the mosaic:

Caetus apostolicus residens cum iudice (Christo)

Praemia iudicio meritis decernit in isto.

Admittedly we cannot be sure that this inscription is as old as the mosaic itself. But Baumstark was obviously wrong when he said (p. 132) that the inscription cannot have been original because it is in Latin, whereas the name inscriptions of the apostles are in Greek. This is a common phenomenon in twelfth century mosaics and the Cappella Palatina provides numerous examples (cf. e.g. footnote 51 above). Wilpert accepts the inscription as original and says the mosaic expresses "the idea of the Last Judgment by means of a representation which possesses all the characteristics of a Pentecost picture" (*ibid.*, p. 915). Wilpert, however, appears to have been unaware of the literary and iconographic parallels which make his interpretation plausible, and he erred in considering the mosaic as being of the same date as the Ducento fresco of the Trinity on the wall above.

56. A. Alföldi, "Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhofe," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, 49, 1934, pp. 88ff. A. Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin*, Paris, 1936, pp. 234ff. E. H. Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," *ART BULLETIN*, XXVI, 1944, pp. 207ff. Further literature will be found quoted in these studies.

57. Grabar, *op.cit.*, p. 234. Kantorowicz, *op.cit.*, figs. 1-21. Our Figs. 8-11.

at the city gate, and a more allegorical type, in which he is preceded by a winged figure of Victory acting as a *cursor* or greeted by a personification of the city or country whose territory he is about to enter.

In Christian art there is one scene which more than any other underwent the influence of the *adventus* iconography, namely, Christ's Entry into Jerusalem. The Palm Sunday scene was the arrival in his capital city of the Messianic King of Israel. Within the christological cycle it is the royal event *par excellence*, and it is only natural that artists should have visualized it as an *adventus*. Most of the iconographic features in the representations of the Entry were borrowed from the "realistic" type of *adventus* scene, though allegorical elements were sometimes added.⁵⁸ The iconography of the scene underwent little change throughout the Middle Ages and the rendering, for instance, in the Cappella Palatina is essentially still the same as on Early Christian sarcophagi (Fig. 18).⁵⁹

The connection of the Flight into Egypt with the ruler's *adventus* is less obvious but also perfectly logical in the light of the apocryphal accounts which describe the event as a triumphal progress of the Lord through heathen lands. The connection is expressed unambiguously in an Early Christian *enkolpion* which shows a personification of Egypt (the *Natio*) receiving the Holy Family and Joseph acting as a *cursor*.⁶⁰ In this case it is the allegorical rather than the realistic type of imperial *adventus* which has influenced the artist, and this influence was perpetuated by iconographic tradition, particularly in Byzantium. One or another of the features of the pagan *adventus* allegories occurs frequently in later representations of the Flight. But few if any representations of the scene combine as many elements of the *adventus* as the mosaic in the Cappella Palatina (Figs. 7-11). It shows the *Natio* greeting the ruler at the city gate,⁶¹ the winged *cursor*—now an angel—leading the procession,⁶² the Lord in a heroic pose of greeting or blessing,⁶³ and the *pedisequus*, who has inherited the role of the Roman standard bearer,⁶⁴ though his load now consists of a simple bundle containing the Holy Family's worldly possessions.

The Presentation in the Temple is the Lord's solemn reception by the aged Simeon. From an artistic point of view the scene was less well suited than the other two for an interpretation as an imperial *adventus*. But the influence of imperial iconography is evident nevertheless in the very first of all known renderings of the scene, a mosaic on the triumphal arch of Santa Maria Maggiore.⁶⁵ The name, *Hypapante*, by which the event is designated in Byzantine literature, liturgy and art is itself "a technical term for the constitutional welcome of royalty."⁶⁶

It can hardly be pure coincidence that three scenes in which Christ figures specifically in the role of a triumphant ruler have received special emphasis in the cycle of the Palatina. The suspicion arises that this special emphasis may have something to do with the role of the Chapel as a palace church. In order to gain certainty in this respect it is not enough, however, to have shown that the scenes were originally conceived as, and to some extent modeled after, royal advents. We must be sure that they still carried these regal connotations in Sicily in the twelfth century.

This proof is readily forthcoming in the case of the Entry into Jerusalem. The Palm Sunday scene certainly never lost its regal associations throughout the Middle Ages. Originally modeled after the reception of Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors, it in turn became the inspiration, the ever-present archetype, of all ceremonial receptions of mediaeval rulers. The arrival of the

58. Grabar, *op.cit.*, pp. 235f. Kantorowicz, *op.cit.*, pp. 215f., 220.

59. Cf. e.g. Kantorowicz, *op.cit.*, fig. 24 (caption to be interchanged with that of fig. 23).

60. Grabar, *op.cit.*, p. 236 (cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 228f. for the Aphrodisius scene in Sta. Maria Maggiore). Kantorowicz, *op.cit.*, pp. 220f. n. 87a and fig. 33a.

61. Kantorowicz, *op.cit.*, fig. 8 = our Fig. 8.

62. Kantorowicz, *op.cit.*, fig. 7 (=our Fig. 9), 15 (=our Fig. 10), 16, 17, 20.

63. Kantorowicz, *op.cit.*, fig. 7 (=our Fig. 9), 11 (=our Fig. 11), etc.

64. Kantorowicz, *op.cit.*, fig. 7 (=our Fig. 7), 14, etc.

65. Grabar, *op.cit.*, pp. 216ff.; *ibid.*, pp. 213f. for the role of the scene within the triumphal program of this decoration.

66. Kantorowicz, *op.cit.*, p. 211.

king is always a reenactment of the Advent of the Messiah, and there is, in fact, no other scene in which the persons of the heavenly and the earthly ruler are so inextricably fused.⁶⁷

There could be no better illustration of this than the opening paragraphs of a Palm Sunday homily by the South Italian preacher Philagathos ("Theophanes Kerameus"), delivered, as the title says, in front of King Roger and therefore, quite possibly, in the Palatine Chapel itself.⁶⁸ To the speaker Palm Sunday is a divine and royal feast (θεία τε καὶ βασιλική ἑορτή) and the occasion of an annual tribute to the king in the form of a sermon. The whole passage is a comparison between the triumphs of the king and the triumphs of Christ. The preacher describes in glowing terms King Roger's God-given victories (νίκας . . . καὶ . . . τρόπαια) and then applies identical words to Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, an entry which, unlike his previous arrivals in the city, was surrounded by pomp and glory. "For the divinely ordained plan was nearing its end, the Passion was approaching . . . and in addition to his other miracles Christ had proved himself victor over Death by snatching Lazarus from him. So he enters the city like a king with trophies and victories and with his guards (. . . οἷα βασιλεὺς μετὰ τρόπαια καὶ νίκας δορυφορούμενος)."

Another homily by the same author contains a brief account of the Flight into Egypt in which that event is described as a triumphal progress: "Christ . . . goes to Egypt shaking and confounding the idols in that country; then . . . called by his Father, he returns as a victor (νικηφόρος) already four years old according to the flesh."⁶⁹

Two of the scenes, then, were certainly thought of as triumphal processions in twelfth century Sicily. The case of the *Hypapante* is more complex. Among the extant homilies of Philagathos none is dedicated to this event. So this source cannot help us to elucidate any special significance it may have.⁷⁰ The simplest and most obvious explanation of its prominent position on the western arch is that the artist selected it as a suitable pendant to the Annunciation on the eastern arch. But although there are other instances where the Presentation scene is accommodated on two sides of an arch⁷¹ the scene is not really very well suited for this position, especially when the artist is unwilling to omit the temple scenery and is forced by the shape of the arch to show the architecture with its lower half cut off (Fig. 12). On the other hand, the arrangement of Annunciation and Presentation in the Temple as pendants is frequent enough to be considered a convention.⁷² Hence among the scenes represented in the Palatina cycle the *Hypapante* was perhaps a natural choice for the western

67. Cf. the rich material gathered by Kantorowicz, *op.cit.*, pp. 208ff., and the same author's *Laudes Regiae*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1946, pp. 71ff.

68. Migne, PG, CXXXII, cols. 541ff. For the identity of the author, cf. A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, pt. 1, III, fasc. 5, Leipzig, 1943, pp. 631ff. On the basis of an exhaustive analysis of the manuscript tradition Ehrhard comes to the conclusion that the homilies later ascribed to a "Theophanes Kerameus, Archbishop of Taormina" were the work of a preaching monk by the name of Philagathos, "who normally officiated in the cathedral of Rossano but made his appearance also in Sicily under the rule, and perhaps at the bidding of King Roger II and his successors" (*ibid.*, p. 679). The Madrid ms gr. 16 contains a variant of the Palm Sunday homily with an invitation to pray for King William (*ibid.*, pp. 664, 672f.).

69. Migne, PG, CXXXII, col. 925.

70. In Madrid ms gr. 16, which contains a number of unpublished homilies by Philagathos, there is one on the *Hypapante*, which, however, according to Ehrhard (*op.cit.*, p. 660), is simply an extract from the Gospel commentary of Theophylactus of Bulgaria. This commentary (Migne, PG, CXXIII, cols. 725ff.) makes no particular point of the triumphal character of the event. But although Theophylactus seems to have been one of Philagathos' principal sources (Ehrhard, *op.cit.*, p. 665 n. 1) his text does not necessarily represent everything that Philagathos had to say on the subject. In particular, the

homily in the Madrid ms lacks a *prooemium*.

71. Kiev, St. Cyril, Milesevo. See next footnote.

72. The case of the Martorana, where the two scenes are in positions corresponding exactly to those they occupy in the Palatina, hardly counts since the greater part of the decoration of the Martorana is in all likelihood simply an abbreviated extract from the program of the Palatina (see below, footnote 107). Another exact parallel is provided by the thirteenth century fresco decoration of the church of Milesevo in Serbia, where Annunciation and Presentation in the Temple confront each other on the piers of the eastern and western arches of the central square (cf. nos. 7/107 and 29/95 on the diagrams in N. L. Okunev, "Milesevo," *Byzantino-Slavica*, VII, 1937-38, pp. 80, 81; also *ibid.*, pl. XXV, 1). Since this decoration shows Italian influence (Okunev, *op.cit.*, pp. 101f.) it might conceivably owe something to our Sicilian examples. But Annunciation and Presentation in the Temple had already been treated as pendants on the triumphal arch of Sta. Maria Maggiore, and, later on, at Qeledjar (Jerphanion, *Les Eglises rupestres*, I, 1, pp. 202, 205, 216 and pl. 45, 2). Perhaps the most pertinent example is the twelfth century fresco decoration in the church of the monastery of St. Cyril in Kiev. In this instance, which is certainly not under Italian influence, Annunciation and *Hypapante* are placed one beneath the other on the lateral piers of the triumphal arch. Cf. the description by Prachov, *op.cit.* (above, footnote 41), p. 17, and the illustration of one half of the *Hypapante* in I. Grabar, *History of Russian Art* (in Russian), VI, Moscow, n.d., p. 128.

arch, especially as it was thus, in a sense, taken out of the chronological sequence of the Childhood scenes in which it occupied a somewhat ambiguous position.⁷³ But although this may be one, or even the principal, reason why the *Hypapante* was put in this particular place there were probably other considerations as well. When we turn to the mosaics at Monreale, executed little more than a generation after those of the sanctuary of the Palatine Chapel, we find that the Presentation in the Temple is placed again on the western arch of the sanctuary square. Since this cycle contains a far richer series of scenes than that of the Palatina and since the architectural setting is by no means identical, a special effort must have been made to secure this position for the *Hypapante*. Yet the scene is not in this case a pendant to the Annunciation.⁷⁴ Instead there is on the same arch a complementary panel showing Christ among the Doctors (Fig. 13). There are other cycles in which this scene follows after the Presentation in the Temple.⁷⁵ But in Monreale there may well be a special intention in placing the Presentation in the Temple and Christ among the Doctors side by side on the western arch. The two scenes have this in common that they both depict Christ's triumph over representatives of the Old Law. The western arch is the divide between the sanctuary and the nave, i.e., between areas whose decorations are dedicated to the New and the Old Covenant respectively. Thus the scene, supplemented by another with similar content, provides a link with the subject matter of the nave mosaics. The arrangement serves, as it were, to put the world of the Old Testament into proper perspective. Indeed, when we look west from the sanctuary we see the events of the Old Testament framed by an arch on which representatives of the Old Law are depicted in the act of submitting to Jesus Christ. Returning now to the Cappella Palatina, we may suggest that here, too, the *Hypapante* had been designed as a link with the nave decoration. At least this may have been an additional reason why the scene was put on the western arch. This incidentally would be an indication that the Old Testament cycle in the nave must have been planned when the mosaics in the sanctuary were made.⁷⁶

The relation of the *Hypapante* to the Old Testament cycle in the nave brings out the triumphal character of the scene. In Monreale this triumphal character is underlined further through the presence of a commentator in the person of the Prophet Malachi, who stands in the spandrel immediately beneath the *Hypapante* (cf. Fig. 13) and holds up a scroll with the first words of his prophecy: "ECCE EGO MITTAM ANGELUM MEVM ET PREPARABIT viam ante faciem meam."⁷⁷ In the Roman missal the reading of this prophecy is prescribed for the feast of the Presentation in the Temple, a fact which presumably accounts for its presence in this particular place.⁷⁸ But the text

73. See above, footnote 40.

74. In Monreale there are two Annunciation scenes. One is ceremonial and symbolical and is placed in the obligatory position on the arch preceding the apse, which, however, is not the arch corresponding to that with the *Hypapante*. The two arches are separated by the eastern arch of the central square, which bears figures of military saints. The other Annunciation scene is purely narrative; it forms part of a sequence of four scenes on the southern arch of the central square, with which the Gospel narrative opens.

75. Toqale, New Church (Jerphanion, *op.cit.*, I, 2, p. 311); Sts. Apostles (*ibid.*, II, 1, pp. 68f.).

76. See above, p. 270. It is, indeed, possible that a linking of the New and Old Covenants was effected not only from the standpoint of the sanctuary, but from that of the nave as well. The last scene of the Old Testament cycle is Jacob's Struggle with the Angel. It is unusual for a Biblical cycle thus to break off halfway through the story of Jacob. In Monreale the Old Testament scenes occupy a far larger area, but instead of continuing the story beyond this point the artists preferred to fill the available space by telling the preceding events in greater detail. Jacob's Struggle with the Angel must have been considered particularly suitable to provide a final accent to the Old Testament series. In both churches the scene occupies a relatively large space and brings the cycle to an effective

halt. Were Jacob's struggle and Simeon's willing submission considered as complementary episodes? Was the *Nunc dimittis* thought to be related to the *Non dimittam te nisi benedixeris mihi*? So far I have not found any evidence that the two scenes were ever linked together specifically. But Isidorus had already said of the angel's struggle with Jacob: *Christi certamen cum populo Israel figuravit* ("Allegoriae quaedam Sacrae Scripturae," No. 30, Migne, *PL*, LXXXIII, col. 105). It is possible, then, that the two scenes on either side of the "divide" were selected especially to emphasize Christ's struggle with, and triumph over, the people of Israel. Was this another device aimed at the conversion of the Jews (see above p. 277 and footnote 47)?

77. Mal. III, 1. The text is here transcribed after D. B. Gravina, *Il Duomo di Monreale*, Palermo, 1859, pl. 17D (=our Fig. 13). Strictly speaking the third word should read *Mitto* (see below, footnote 81). At present I cannot decide whether the change was introduced by the artist, by some later restorer, or by Gravina's copyist.

78. This statement is not intended to imply that liturgical usages of Rome can be assumed automatically to have been followed also in Norman Sicily. But the fact that in Monreale the text of Malachi is associated with the Presentation in the Temple is itself an indication that the Siculo-Norman liturgy shared with the Roman this particular detail, an assumption

had other associations aside from the liturgy of the feast. It is one of the principal messianic prophecies in the Old Testament and as such it was used in other contexts to hail the arrival of the heavenly king or his earthly representative. It is, in short, one of the principal *adventus* texts.⁷⁹ Specifically, it figures frequently in *ordines* for the reception and coronation of rulers.⁸⁰ It is not lacking in the one extant coronation *ordo* which has been attributed to Norman Sicily and which provides for the chanting of the Malachi prophecy during the king's solemn entry into the church.⁸¹ The text, then, would always evoke visions of the king's advent and perhaps we are not stretching the evidence unduly when we suggest that this mental association extended also to the scene which the text accompanied. Admittedly we have no literary statement, aside from the indirect evidence derived from the prophecy of Malachi in Monreale, to prove that in twelfth century Sicily the *Hypapante* was still thought of in terms of the royal ceremony which had originally given it its name; we are, however, able to say that this meaning was preserved in mediaeval Greek literature.⁸²

Granted even that for a spectator in Norman Sicily the royal element in the *Hypapante* may have been nothing more than a faint overtone and that these regal connotations may have provided only an incidental reason why the scene was prominently featured in the Palatine Chapel, there is still the fact that special emphasis was given also to two other scenes which definitely were thought of in terms of the ruler's *adventus*, namely, the Flight into Egypt and the Entry into Jerusalem. This fact should now be considered in conjunction with our earlier observations on the asymmetric layout of the christological cycle. Was not this cycle laid out to suit a particular viewpoint and, indeed, a particular spectator who could be no other than the king himself? The southern wall of the southern wing is the great picture wall of the sanctuary; its view is dominated by two *adventus* scenes, particularly by the Entry into Jerusalem, which has always impressed visitors as one of the climactic features of the whole decoration (Fig. 18). This would be the wall the king faced (Fig. 5). The corresponding wall in the northern wing, which presumably never carried the same weight iconographically, would be behind his back or out of his sight (Fig. 6).

There is, of course, even now a window in the northern wing which affords exactly the view just referred to. If this window could be proved to be an original feature of the architecture the hypothesis here outlined would gain greatly in probability. Unfortunately, at present the evidence in regard to this window is inconclusive. It has been mentioned above that a royal box did exist in the northern wing in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. According to one authority this box, which was a wooden structure in front of the lower part of the northern wall, was installed after the Bourbon court had moved to Palermo (A.D. 1798), because the small loggia higher up on that wall no longer sufficed.⁸³ This statement would seem to imply that a small window

which is all the more reasonable since the Sarum Missal also has the Malachi reading for the feast of the Presentation. This was pointed out to me by Dom A. Strittmatter. For the Sicilian affinities of the rite of Sarum, cf. E. H. Kantorowicz, "A Norman Finale of the Exultet and the Rite of Sarum," *Harvard Theological Review*, xxxiv, 1941, pp. 139f. It is interesting to note that in the Cappella Palatina the series of prophets in the central square is arranged in such a way that Malachi, though lacking a prophetic text, is placed next to the *Hypapante* (see Fig. 5).

79. Kantorowicz, *ART BULLETIN*, 1944, pp. 217f.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 217 n. 67.

81. Coronation *ordo* in Cod. Casanat. 614 published by J. Schwalm in *Neues Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 23, 1898, p. 19: *Postea archiepiscopus accepta aqua benedicta aspergat regem et dicat alta voce: Procedamus in pace. Et cantor episcopii incipiat resp.: Ecce mitto angelum.* This wording agrees with Malachi III, 1 (as quoted in Mark I, 2 and Luke VII, 27) and not with the related passage in Exodus xxiii, 20 (cf. the parallel remarks by Kantorowicz, *op.cit.* p. 217, à propos the formula for the reception of the emperor in the Roman Pontifical). For the attribution to Norman

Sicily of the *ordo* published by Schwalm, cf. P. E. Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation*, Oxford, 1937, p. 60 n. 2; Kantorowicz, *Harvard Theological Review*, 1941, p. 137 n. 29; *Idem*, *Laudes Regiae*, p. 166 n. 44.

82. Cf. particularly a homily ascribed to Leontius of Neapolis, in which the feast of the *Hypapante* is called a *θεία καὶ δεσποτική εὐροπή* (Migne, PG, xciii, col. 1565; cf. above, p. 281, for the nearly identical words applied by Philagathos to Palm Sunday) and the arrival of the *βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων* is described and hailed as a royal *adventus* (*ibid.*, cols. 1567f.). Cf. also a passage in a sermon of Leo the Wise in which the Christ Child's arrival in the Temple is described as a "negative" *adventus*: *Ποῦ τῆς δεσποτείας ὁ ὄγκος; Ποῦ τοῦ ἀξιώματος τὰ γνωρίσματα; Οἱ δορυφόροι δὲ ποῦ; οἱ συντρέχοντες; οἱ προπομπεύοντες; οἱ ἐφεπόμενοι;* (Migne, PG, cvii, col. 33).

83. Boglino, *op.cit.* (above, footnote 8) p. 24: "si era costruito questo palchetto quando la Corte napoletana si portò nella Reggia siciliana, non bastando più per essa la piccola loggia che più in alto nel muro medesimo si trovava." The Bourbon balcony, which was removed by order of Ferdinand II in 1838, may be seen on an engraving reproduced in F. Schillmann's edition of F. Gregorovius, *Wanderjahre in*

or loggia was there prior to the work carried out in this area under the Bourbons in the late eighteenth century. But at present there is no positive archaeological or documentary proof that it goes back to the twelfth century.⁸⁴

Since the king's apartments were situated north of the Chapel, the northern wall of the sanctuary certainly would be a logical place for a royal loggia. Behind this wall lies an ambulatory which skirts the entire length of the Chapel on the north side,⁸⁵ but there is some uncertainty as to the means of access to this ambulatory and to the Chapel from the royal apartments. Investigations recently carried out in this area have shown that there was a passage leading from the royal apartments to the ambulatory on the level of the crypt.⁸⁶ But this does not exclude the possibility that there was a connection on a higher level as well, where the evidence has been obscured by later building activities.⁸⁷

A seemingly strong argument against the assumption that there was in Norman times a royal seat in any part of the sanctuary is the existence of a royal throne at the western end of the nave (Fig. 12). But the style of the mosaics in the area surrounding the top of this throne and on the wall above it—admittedly difficult to judge because of drastic restorations—makes it doubtful, to say the least, whether this throne is an original feature of the church. The whole western wall may have undergone a very thorough reorganization at a relatively advanced period.⁸⁸ Even if the throne at the western end were part of the original plan it would not really exclude the existence of a royal seat in the area of the sanctuary as well. Unfortunately we know next to nothing about the Norman kings' role in the church service, but in view of their exceptional and quasi-clerical status as papal legates they are *a priori* likely to have had at least a movable seat within the sanctuary. Indeed, there are royal thrones within the chancel both in Cefalù and in Monreale. In our context it is interesting to note that in both these instances the thrones are on the northern side. A royal seat in the balcony, on the other hand, would have an altogether different function and would be used for private attendance as distinct from official participation in the service.

The mosaic decoration itself provides corroborative evidence that the view across the sanctuary from north to south was indeed a royal view and that the king must have had a place on the northern side and, very probably, in what is even now a royal window. This corroborative evidence comes from the figures of saints which supplement the program. They provide a further curious case of asymmetry which has already been mentioned. On the outer face of the southern arch of the central square are three busts of prophets in medallions completing the series of prophets in the dome and central square. These are flanked, in the spandrels, by full-length figures of Isaiah and Joel with prophetic texts referring to adjoining New Testament scenes.⁸⁹ The corresponding wall of the northern arch, i.e. the wall facing the royal loggia, also shows three busts in medallions flanked by two full-length figures. But of these five figures, four are prominent warrior saints. The full-length figure in the left-hand spandrel is Theodorus Tiro; the three busts depict Demetrius, Nestor, and Mercurius. The standing saint to the right is a bishop—a rather incongruous-looking figure in this company of warriors—and, in fact, no other than St. Nicholas, whom one is all the more surprised to find here since he is represented also among the holy bishops on the wall opposite. Evidently he is represented here not so much as one of the great Eastern bishops, but as one of the

Italien, Dresden, 1928, pl. 51. The monograph by Pasca, to which Boglino refers, was not accessible to me.

84. So far as I am aware, the only author who has stated *expressis verbis* that the window in the northern wing is a royal loggia of the period of Roger II is Di Marzo, *Delle belle arti in Sicilia*, II, p. 161 (see also below, footnote 92). Demus attributes it to a change of plan under William I.

85. Cf. the plan in *Archivio storico siciliano*, 1936, facing p. 474.

86. M. Guiotto, *Palazzo Ex Reale di Palermo. Recenti restauri e ritrovamenti*, Palermo, 1947, pp. 31ff. and fig. 4 "G."

87. Guiotto, *op.cit.*, pp. 32f. The author points out, however, that the passage shown on Valenti's plans in *Bollettino d'arte*, 2nd series, IV, 1924-25, pp. 512f., figs. 1-2, is purely hypothetical.

88. Cf. F. Valenti's statement ("L'Arte nell'era normanna," *Il Regno normanno*, Messina and Milan, 1932, p. 220) that the narthex to the west of this wall is an addition of the period of William II. Some authors have gone so far as to attribute the throne to the Aragonese period (Di Marzo, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 160ff.; Di Pietro, *I Mosaici siciliani*, p. 73).

89. See above, footnote 32 and p. 278.

principal patron saints of the Normans,⁹⁰ and, specifically, in his well-known role as a patron of sailors,⁹¹ complementing the role of Demetrius and the rest as patrons of soldiers.

Thus the view from north to south comprises yet another element which would appeal particularly to a royal spectator and one, incidentally, which could hardly be appreciated from any other viewpoint except the window high up on the northern wall.⁹² The saints on the walls flanking this window give further emphasis to the royal and military theme. On the western wall (Fig. 16) Catherine in royal garb is flanked by Agatha and another female saint, whose name is lost. The group clearly suggests a queen or princess with her ladies-in-waiting.⁹³ On the eastern wall is the group of the Virgin and Child and St. John, whose possible liturgical symbolism has already been discussed.⁹⁴ Two peculiarities of this group remain to be mentioned. The first is the eccentric position of the Virgin which is strange and disturbing when viewed from the front (Fig. 14), but not so when viewed from the loggia. This is in itself an indication that the loggia was already in existence when the mosaics were made.⁹⁵ The other is the fact that this image of the Virgin and Child not only belongs to the Hodegetria type, iconographically speaking, but is actually inscribed ΜΗΡ ΘΥ Η ΟΔΗΓΗΤΡΙΑ. An inscription denoting an iconographic type is a very rare feature in monumental wall decoration prior to the late Byzantine period,⁹⁶ though it is somewhat more common on seals⁹⁷ and coins.⁹⁸ The implication in all such cases is that the image which bears the inscription depicts a specific icon.⁹⁹ In this instance we have before us a representation of the famous icon of the Hodegetria in Constantinople, palladium of empire and dispenser of victory, prayed to by emperors and generals upon departing on their campaigns, thanked and praised for victories upon their return, and even carried on the ramparts in extreme emergencies.¹⁰⁰ The cult of the Hodegetria had already been fostered by the Normans more than a generation before the mosaics of the Palatina were made. At the very beginning of the twelfth century the Abbey of Rossano, founded with the active support of the dynasty, was dedicated to the Virgin under the title of Nea Hodegetria.¹⁰¹

Thus the view from the loggia offers on all three sides subjects with military and royal conno-

90. K. Meisen, *Nikolauskult und Nikolausbrauch im Abendlande*, Düsseldorf, 1931, pp. 89, 94ff. Kantorowicz, *Harvard Theological Review*, 1941, pp. 141f. The center of the cult of St. Nicholas was, of course, Bari. St. Theodorus Tiro, his pendant in the Cappella Palatina, was a patron saint of Brindisi (cf. *Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, IV, p. 27).

91. G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos*, II, Leipzig and Berlin, 1917, p. 504; Meisen, *op.cit.*, pp. 66, 89. The only miracle of the saint related by Philagathos (see above, footnote 68) in his Nicholas homily is a rescue at sea (Migne, *PG*, CXXXII, cols. 905ff.). The artist who aligned St. Nicholas with St. Theodore, St. Demetrius, etc., clearly did not share Anrich's view (*op.cit.*, p. 496) that the "gentle bishop was not suited as a warrior saint." Anrich was not aware of the dual representation of St. Nicholas in the Cappella Palatina (cf. p. 484). For other bishops featured by our artists in what seems to be largely a military capacity, see below, p. 289. But although the duplication of the figure of St. Nicholas can be explained by drawing a distinction between the saint as a bishop and as a local and naval patron, the fact that the figure occurs twice within one and the same part of the church might be used as an argument that the two sets of mosaics were planned and executed at different times. If so, it would be the row of five holy bishops, and not the warrior saints, which would have to be detached from the program as a whole. For they differ from all the other mosaics in the transept in having name inscriptions in both Greek and Latin. For stylistic reasons, however, the difference in time cannot be very great. See also above, footnote 39.

92. Cf. the sections, Figs. 1, 2. A connection between the warrior saints and the royal window was drawn already by Di Marzo, *op.cit.*, II, p. 76. The mosaics on the sidewalls of the chancel at Cefalù present a comparable case of asymmetry,

clearly planned with the same intent. The four deacons depicted in the second zone from below on the northern wall (Lasareff, *ART BULLETIN*, XVII, 1935, p. 203, fig. 15) are matched on the southern wall by four military saints: Theodore Stratelates, George, Demetrius, Nestor (*ibid.*, p. 200, fig. 14). Here the relation to the king, whose throne faces the southern wall, can hardly be doubted.

93. This was observed by Mons. Pottino, *op.cit.* (above, footnote 8), p. 58.

94. See above, pp. 273f.

95. I owe this point to Dr. Demus' forthcoming book.

96. Prof. Grabar has drawn my attention to the icons of Christ and the Virgin, inscribed, respectively Ο ΑΝΤΙΦΩΝΙΤΗΣ and Η ΕΛΕΟΥΣΑ in the church of the Dormition at Nicaea. Cf. Th. Schmit, *Die Koimesis-Kirche von Nikaia*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1927, pls. 25-27 and pp. 44ff.: "10th century."

97. G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin*, Paris, 1884, pp. 37f.

98. W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, London, 1908, II, p. 503 and pl. LIX,5; p. 506 and pl. LX,5.

99. Cf. the remarks by Schlumberger, *op.cit.*, pp. 36ff.

100. The sources relating to the image of the Hodegetria and its role as a palladium are marshaled conveniently and critically in two recent articles: A. Frolov, "La Dédicace de Constantinople dans la tradition byzantine," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, CXXVII, 1944, pp. 99ff.; R. L. Wolff, "Footnote to an Incident of the Latin Occupation of Constantinople: The Church and the Icon of the Hodegetria," *Traditio*, VI, 1948, pp. 323ff.

101. M. Scaduto, *Il Monachismo Basiliano nella Sicilia medievale*, Rome, 1947, pp. 167ff.

tations. Taking this fact in conjunction with the peculiar arrangement of the christological cycle one can hardly avoid the conclusion that the whole decoration was meant to gratify a royal spectator seated on the northern side and probably in the loggia. The view from north to south not only is richer than that from south to north, it shows a consistent and sustained emphasis on a single theme: royal power and glory. The theme is cleverly and semicryptically embedded in what is, to all intents and purposes, a normal Byzantine scheme of decoration. But it is present nevertheless. It finds expression in the saints and single figures no less than in the prominent featuring of the *adventus* scenes and particularly in the Entry into Jerusalem, which forms a very effective center piece. The two saints flanking this scene will be discussed later, and it will be seen that they give additional emphasis to the royal theme. The view from south to north offers no such keynote and is by comparison disjointed. The asymmetry of the whole layout must be purposeful. It is the view from north to south which counts most, and it is from the loggia that it can best be appreciated.

V

An attempt must now be made to determine the date of this "royal program." This requires a digression into the realm of style, admittedly treacherous ground because of the thorough restorations to which the mosaics of the Cappella Palatina have been subjected at various times. It is still possible, however, to distinguish at least two stylistic groups among the mosaics in the dome and transept. These two groups can be characterized conveniently by means of a comparison of two busts of Christ, one in the dome, the other in the lunette of the Pentecost vault (Figs. 20, 21). Among the characteristics of the latter as against the former are a slimmer, more elongated face, larger eyes, a generally more ascetic expression, and a more elaborate drapery design with a preference for rounded forms. A key to the source of this second style is provided by the magnificent bust of Christ in the apse at Cefalù (Fig. 22). The artist who designed the Christ in the Pentecost vault knew the work of that excellent atelier which decorated the apse in Cefalù. The artists of the dome apparently did not. The dome bears an inscription of A.D. 1143,¹⁰² the mosaics in the apse at Cefalù are dated by an inscription in the year 1148.¹⁰³ The natural conclusion is that work in the Palatine Chapel started in the dome in the early forties and that by the time the southern transept wing was reached the Cefalù workshop had become operative and had started to exert its influence. Thus the mosaics in this area would seem to belong to the late forties at the earliest.¹⁰⁴

Another clue is provided by the church of the Martorana in Palermo, built by George of Antioch, the faithful admiral of Roger II, prior to the year 1143.¹⁰⁵ The mosaic decoration in the Martorana must have been, if not completed, at least far advanced when George died in A.D. 1151.¹⁰⁶ This decoration, however, is in part an abbreviated excerpt of that in the Cappella Palatina. A reverse relationship is hardly conceivable.¹⁰⁷ Hence, those mosaics of the Palatine Chapel which are re-

102. See above, footnote 3.

103. Lasareff, *ART BULLETIN*, XVII, 1935, p. 185.

104. The priority of the dome mosaics of the Cappella Palatina over the artistically superior mosaics in the apse at Cefalù has been a stumbling block to those who, like Lasareff (*op.cit.*, pp. 221ff.), conceived the Sicilian development as a simple "one-way" process starting with a pure Constantinopolitan style and undergoing a gradual provincialization. In actual fact the process is a good deal more complicated. The dome mosaics of the Cappella Palatina are important evidence of a school which worked for King Roger prior to the arrival of the Cefalù workshop. It is only by making this distinction that the full impact of the Cefalù workshop, as revealed in some of the mosaics of the southern wing of the Palatina, can be appreciated and the framework of a chronology for the Palatina mosaics can be established.

105. Garofalo, *op.cit.* (above, footnote 2), pp. 13ff.

106. M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 2nd ed., III, pt. 2, Catania, 1938, p. 429 (in the first edition, III, Florence, 1868, p. 422, the date is given erroneously as 1149-50).

107. This can be demonstrated, for instance, in the case of the Presentation in the Temple. The mosaic in the Cappella Palatina follows an established type represented in southern Italy by the eleventh century ivory paliotto in Salerno (D. C. Shorr, "The Iconographic Development of the Presentation in the Temple," *ART BULLETIN*, XXVIII, 1946, pp. 17ff. and fig. 9). In the Martorana the scene is repeated exactly, but simplified through the omission of Joseph, Anna, and the temple architecture. The Nativity scenes in the two churches are equally closely related and again the Martorana represents a reduced version (cf. Figs. 15 and 17).

flected in the decoration of the Martorana were probably in existence in the late forties. Among these are the Annunciation, the Presentation in the Temple, and the Nativity (Figs. 15, 17).

The Nativity scene, however, clearly belongs to the second of the two groups which we have distinguished in the Cappella Palatina. Immediately above it is the Christ bust which betrays unmistakably the influence of the Cefalù style. Immediately below is a bust of St. Paul, which, though very badly restored, still shows traces of the same Cefalù influence, and, indeed, reproduces the drapery design of the Cefalù Pantokrator (cf. Figs. 15, 22). The Nativity must have been executed simultaneously with the two busts between which it is bracketed. Thus this whole ensemble on the eastern wall of the southern wing is confined between very narrow chronological limits. Insofar as it shows the influence of the Cefalù workshop it can hardly be earlier than 1145 at the very earliest; insofar as it, in turn, influenced the work in the Martorana it can hardly be later than 1150 at the very latest.

A date in the second half of the forties is thereby suggested for at least part of the mosaics of the second group. How much of the work belongs to the second group can be determined, if at all, only on the basis of a more adequate photographic record and a more thorough scrutiny of authentic and restored parts than are at present available. It is hazardous even to attempt to draw a line of demarcation between the first and the second groups. Probably all the work above the inscription of 1143, that is to say, in the dome and in the drum, belongs to the first group, with the possible exception of the eight half-length figures of prophets in the spandrels of the drum. These do not agree altogether with the figures in the dome and with the full-length figures of prophets in the niches of the drum. In the rounded forms of some of their draperies there may be an influence of the Cefalù workshop. These half-length figures of prophets may, in fact, be an afterthought. They are awkwardly cut off at the waist and wedged into the narrow spaces between the niches (Fig. 5).

If this conclusion is correct one might tentatively reconstruct the progress of the work somewhat as follows: When the dedicatory verses were inscribed at the foot of the drum in A.D. 1143 the Pantokrator with his angelic guards had already been placed or was about to be placed in the dome and two groups of four Evangelists and four prophets and forerunners in the squinches and niches below.¹⁰⁸ It was, as we have seen, a typical Byzantine dome decoration, but there need not necessarily have been at that stage the full plan of decoration for the lower parts as it was later carried out. Indeed, the original plan may have provided merely for a descending hierarchy of prophets, apostles and martyrs, somewhat on the lines of the decoration of the Nea, the palace church of the Byzantine emperors. There may have ensued a lull in the work which may have lasted until 1146 or 1147 when a new impetus came from the recently established workshop at Cefalù. Possibly the inclusion of a New Testament cycle in the program of the sanctuary was decided upon only at this time, and this may be the reason why the series of prophets, for which there would have been space originally in the lower parts, was crowded into the spandrels of the drum and of the arches beneath in the form of busts.

Whether or not there was a change of plan, work on the mosaics in the lower parts of the sanctuary was in progress in the second half of the forties, when the southern wing was reached. How far the work progressed during this phase is difficult to say. What matters most in the present context is the probability that the over-all scheme of decoration was then established in its substantially final form and that this scheme included the royal view across the transept from north to south. Annunciation, Nativity, and Presentation in the Temple must have been in existence by

108. The group of prophets and forerunners was intended perhaps as a representation of two pairs of fathers and sons: David and Solomon, Zacharias and John. Zacharias' scroll is inscribed with a quotation from the prophet of that name (Zach. ix, 9), but the censer in his hand seems to characterize

him as Zacharias the Priest and father of the Baptist. The two were sometimes confused (Grabar, *Martyrium*, II, p. 201). In some of the marginal psalters (Vatican, Barb. gr. 372, fol. 235^r; London, British Museum, Add. 19352, fol. 185^r) the prophet Zacharias also appears with a censer.

this time, since they are reflected in the Martorana. The Pentecost scene, or at least the figure of Christ which is part of it, must have been executed at the same time as the Nativity. It is hardly conceivable that these four scenes which comprise the beginning and the end of the "feast cycle" could have been allotted the places in which we find them unless there had been an over-all plan for such a cycle¹⁰⁹ and for its distribution over the transept, a distribution which, as we have seen, was far from haphazard and on the contrary extremely well thought out.¹¹⁰ The supporting program of saints certainly was evolved at the same time. It is complementary to the New Testament cycle so far as distribution is concerned. It has the same regal emphasis and it, too, has ties with the Martorana mosaics.¹¹¹ It was mentioned earlier that the over-all plan, as it existed in the second half of the forties, may have provided also for the Old Testament cycle in the nave,¹¹² even though most writers believe that this cycle, at any rate, was not executed until the reign of William I.

We do not know how far the execution of the work had progressed when William I succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1154. But the over-all scheme of the mosaics, including the "royal view," was evolved, if not in the first phase of the work, certainly still within the reign of Roger II. In the sanctuary there is only one group of mosaics which seems to be altogether unconnected with this scheme, namely, the figures in the central apse. The Pantokrator appears here once more (Fig. 23) and although the figure is evidently derived from that in the conch at Cefalù (Fig. 22), we are here far removed from the latter's aristocratic countenance and ascetic proportions, which the artist of the Saviour in the Pentecost scene of the Palatina reproduced so faithfully (Fig. 21), and closer to the expansive and somewhat bloated Pantokrator bust of Monreale (Fig. 24) done under William II (1166-1189). The Pantokrator in the apse of the Cappella Palatina must surely belong to the advanced twelfth century. It was placed there as an afterthought in order to offset the vertical build-up of the original Byzantine scheme of decoration—a scheme designed for churches with a centralized plan—and to give primary emphasis to the longitudinal axis of the basilica. This change of plan seems to have affected also the figures in the lower zone of the central apse.¹¹³

VI

It was during the last decade of the reign of Roger II, greatest of the Norman rulers of Sicily, that the grand design for the mosaics in the sanctuary of the Palatine Chapel was evolved. This was the period when Roger, having finally become undisputed master within his own domain and having won the Pope's recognition of his kingship, stepped out onto the international scene and embarked on a course of open rivalry with the two greatest powers of his day, the Byzantine and the German Empires. It was a subtle political game punctuated by a number of warlike acts which culminated in A.D. 1147 in what seems to have been an attempt to oust the Comnenian dynasty and to set up a Latin Kingdom on the Bosphorus.¹¹⁴

The question arises whether the decoration of the sanctuary of the Cappella Palatina, with its stress on royal and military themes, was designed merely to enhance the courtly atmosphere of the church or whether it bears a specific relation to the events of those years.

There is one feature in the decoration which has so far been neglected and which more clearly than any other indicates the presence of quite specific political overtones. In the lower register of the principal picture wall of the sanctuary (Fig. 5), in positions corresponding to two of the

109. See above, p. 275 and footnote 36. For the reason why the Flight into Egypt—the only christological scene which does not correspond to a "feast"—was included in the cycle, see pp. 280f.

110. See above, pp. 279, 286.

111. Cf. the Hodegetria in the Cappella Palatina (Fig. 14)

with the figure of the Virgin in the Presentation in the Temple in the Martorana.

112. See above, p. 282.

113. See above, footnotes 18-20.

114. See below, footnotes 121, 122.

Greek bishops on the northern wall of the northern wing and flanking the scene of the Entry into Jerusalem, are two figures of bishops inscribed respectively St. Dionysius and St. Martin. St. Denis and St. Martin would not be an obvious choice were it simply a question of opposing Latin Fathers to the Greek ones on the wall opposite. They do not seem to have held a particularly prominent place in the Sicilian calendar. But they were exceedingly prominent in France, and their connection with France is, indeed, the principal bond between them. Denis was considered to have been the first bishop of Paris, or even the Apostle of Gaul, and since the Carolingian period he had been identified in Western thought with Dionysius the Areopagite.¹¹⁵ Martin, of course, was a famous bishop of Tours. Both were traditional patrons of the French king and the French army and the nearest equivalent in France to the Byzantine warrior saints.¹¹⁶ Both had given their names to famous French flags.¹¹⁷ St. Denis' role particularly had never been more brilliant—or more worldly—than in the twelfth century, by which time he was firmly established as France's patron saint. His military valor became evident to all France in 1124 when the saint's flag, raised from the altar of the Abbey Church of St. Denis by Louis VI, secured the successful defense of the realm against the threatened invasion of the German emperor.¹¹⁸ Twenty-three years later Louis VII, before embarking on the Second Crusade, went to the Abbey of St. Denis and asked the Saint for his *vexillum* and for permission to leave *qui mos semper victoriosus regibus fuit*.¹¹⁹ The place of honor given to the two saints on a wall otherwise dedicated entirely to the life of Christ must be understood as a tribute to France, her army, and her king.

France was Roger's natural ally in his struggles with the two Empires and a special object of his attention since the early forties.¹²⁰ He began to woo Louis VII openly during the preparations for the Second Crusade, which to Roger was but a thinly disguised scheme for the conquest of Constantinople. It was a joint Franco-Sicilian attack on the capital which he seems to have had in mind when he sent out his fleet in 1147.¹²¹ In any case such a plan was being discussed at that time in Louis' entourage.¹²² But Louis did not respond openly to Roger's offers of friendship until 1149, when the Crusade had taken its disastrous course and the French king, now thoroughly disabused of the faithfulness of his Greek allies, was on his return journey. As a result of events which are not entirely clear Louis and his Queen found themselves landing on Norman shores. According to one version Louis was ambushed by a Byzantine fleet and rescued by the Normans.¹²³ Be this as it may, Roger, *desiderans oportunitatem exhibendi devotionem quam habebat regi et regno Francorum*¹²⁴ was able to play host to the French royal couple. Louis spent two months in Roger's kingdom.¹²⁵ We do not know that he visited Palermo, though his Queen did.¹²⁶ There was a confi-

115. M. Buchner, *Die Areopagitika des Abtes Hilduin von St. Denis und ihr kirchenpolitischer Hintergrund*, Paderborn, 1939, *passim*, especially pp. 41ff., 161ff., 200f.

116. Both Denis and Martin are among the saints invoked in the Laudes as protectors of the army (C. Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens*, Stuttgart, 1935, p. 256; Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, p. 15) and of the king (Kantorowicz, "Ivories and Litanies," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, v, 1942, p. 57). Since the early Middle Ages both the Abbey of St. Martin at Tours and the Abbey of St. Denis outside Paris had close and intimate connections with the French kings, with the emphasis gradually shifting from the former to the latter foundation as principal sanctuary of the realm (H. Meyer, "Die Oriflamme und das französische Nationalgefühl," *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philol.-Histor. Klasse*, 1930, p. 115, also p. 113 n. 5; P. E. Schramm, *Der König von Frankreich*, Weimar, 1939, pp. 131ff.).

117. Meyer, *op.cit.*, pp. 110ff. (*ibid.*, p. 113 for the "cappa" of St. Martin, which in Merovingian times was kept as a relic in the royal palace—hence the word "cappella"—and taken into battle as a palladium); C. Erdmann, "Kaiserfahne und Blutfahne," *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philol.-Histor. Klasse*, 1932, pp.

890ff.; Schramm, *op.cit.*, p. 139.

118. Meyer, *op.cit.*, pp. 116ff.; Erdmann, *op.cit.*, p. 892; Schramm, *op.cit.*, p. 139.

119. Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. V. G. Berry, New York, 1948, p. 16.

120. E. Caspar, *Roger II (1101-1154) und die Gründung der normannisch-sizilischen Monarchie*, Innsbruck, 1904, pp. 365ff.

121. *Ibid.*, pp. 377ff.

122. Odo of Deuil, *op.cit.*, p. 58.

123. Anonymus ad Petrum, Ch. 28 (printed by B. Kugler, *Studien zur Geschichte des zweiten Kreuzzuges*, Stuttgart, 1866, p. 19). Cinnamus (*Hist.* II, ed. Bonn, 1836, pp. 87f.), however, gives a different account. On these events see Kugler, *op.cit.*, pp. 209f.; Caspar, *op.cit.*, pp. 391ff.; F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, Paris, 1907, II, p. 144.

124. Anonymus ad Petrum, *op.cit.*, p. 19.

125. The King landed in Calabria on July 29 (cf. his letter to Abbot Suger, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, xv, Paris, 1808, pp. 513f. no. LXXXI) and was on his way to Rome on October 4, when he arrived in Monte Cassino (cf. the Chronicle of Monte Cassino, *ibid.*, p. 425).

126. Cf. Louis' letter to Suger quoted in the preceding

dential meeting lasting three days between Roger and Louis at Potenza,¹²⁷ a great event for Roger who thus found himself treated as a peer by one of the legitimately crowned heads of Europe. Although we have no record of what transpired at this meeting, we may infer from subsequent correspondence that a plan was hatched for another crusade, this time with Roger as a leader and with Byzantium as an avowed objective.¹²⁸ The plan petered out because of opposition from the pope. Relations with France continued to be friendly, but active political cooperation had ended for the time being.

Thus, a tribute to France would have been particularly appropriate in the period before, during and immediately after the Second Crusade. As we have seen, mosaicists were working in the southern wing of the Cappella Palatina at precisely this period. Indeed, in the light of the events of those years the appearance of the two patron saints of the French king and the French army on either side of the triumphal scene of the Entry into Jerusalem is peculiarly suggestive. But without additional evidence it would be hazardous to try to connect this group of mosaics with any specific event.

In any case, however, the prominent featuring of the two saints not only adds another regal and military element to the "royal view," it also shows that political considerations were not foreign to the designers of the mosaic program. No doubt the choice of a Byzantine form of decoration is itself a political gesture which must likewise be seen in the light of Roger's political aspirations. On the one hand it befits a ruler who, as a papal legate, occupied a position almost unique in the Western world. Roger certainly conceived his role within his own kingdom as being closely comparable to that of the basileus with its combination of secular and spiritual overlordship. On the other hand the Byzantine decoration also betokens his ambitions in the international field. Indeed, it was perhaps primarily as a potential usurper of the imperial crown that Roger, who allowed himself to be addressed and portrayed as a basileus,¹²⁹ laid claim to a Byzantine setting.

Yet, if the interpretation of these mosaics which has been offered in the foregoing pages is accepted it must also be conceded that Roger's artists have used Byzantine church decoration in a manner in which it hardly could have been used by any basileus. There were, to be sure, in Byzantium close ties between religious and imperial iconography. Christian art in its formative stage had borrowed from imperial imagery many motifs which helped to underline its own triumphal character.¹³⁰ In the period after the iconoclastic controversy the barriers separating the two spheres broke down to a large extent. The emperor was usually depicted in the company of sacred figures.¹³¹ The celestial choirs were cast firmly in the mold of a court hierarchy. The hierarchical principles which govern all Byzantine imagery are nowhere more apparent than in the system of church decoration. But this system is timeless and impersonal. It is an embodiment of a Christian cosmos. The details of the arrangement may differ from case to case and the symbolical interpretations may also vary.¹³² But the hierarchy of images always stands for an objective order and helps to make of the church a symbol of the Christian universe and the economy of Salvation. In this system the

footnote. According to the Anonymus ad Petrum, Louis himself also visited Palermo, whither he was conducted by Roger with great honors (*Occurrit ergo ei et adductis equitaturis ad sufficiensiam perduxit eum Panormiam cum summo honore, et tam illum quam omnes suos multis donariis studuit honorare, op.cit.*, p. 19). This passage, however, has been discounted by historians (cf. Kugler, *op.cit.*, pp. 210f. n. 15), and probably rightly, since Louis himself, in his letters to Suger (*Recueil*, xv, pp. 513, 518), makes no mention of such a visit. A farcical account of the French King's alleged visit to Palermo is given by Bernardus Thesaurarius (thirteenth century) in his *Liber de Acquisitione Terrae Sanctae*, ch. cxxvi (L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vii, Milan, 1725, cols. 766f.).

127. Cf. the passage in the Monte Cassino Chronicle quoted in footnote 125 above, and Louis' letter to Suger, *Recueil*, xv,

pp. 518f., no. xcvi.

128. Cf. letters from Abbot Peter of Cluny to King Roger (Migne, *PL*, CLXXXIX, col. 424) and from King Konrad III to Empress Irene (Ph. Jaffé, *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*, I, Berlin, 1864, p. 365). Caspar, *op.cit.*, pp. 406f., also places in this period the undated exchange of letters between King Roger and Abbot Suger (Migne, *PL*, CLXXXVI, cols. 1415, 1417).

129. Cf. my forthcoming paper on the portrait of Roger II in the Martorana, to be published in a volume of studies in honor of Pietro Toesca (*Proporzioni*, III).

130. Grabar, *L'Empereur*, pp. 192ff.

131. *Ibid.*, pp. 173ff.

132. For a recent study of this subject see Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*, pp. 14ff.



FIG. 7. Cappella Palatina, Transept, southern wall: *Flight into Egypt* (after Buscemi)



FIG. 8



FIG. 9



FIG. 10



FIG. 11

FIGS. 8-11. Roman coins and medallions with *adventus* scenes: 8. Constantinus Chlorus, Redemptor Lucis Aeternae, Londinium. 9. Constantine, *Adventus*. 10. Tacitus, *Adventus*. 11. Commodus, *Adventus*.

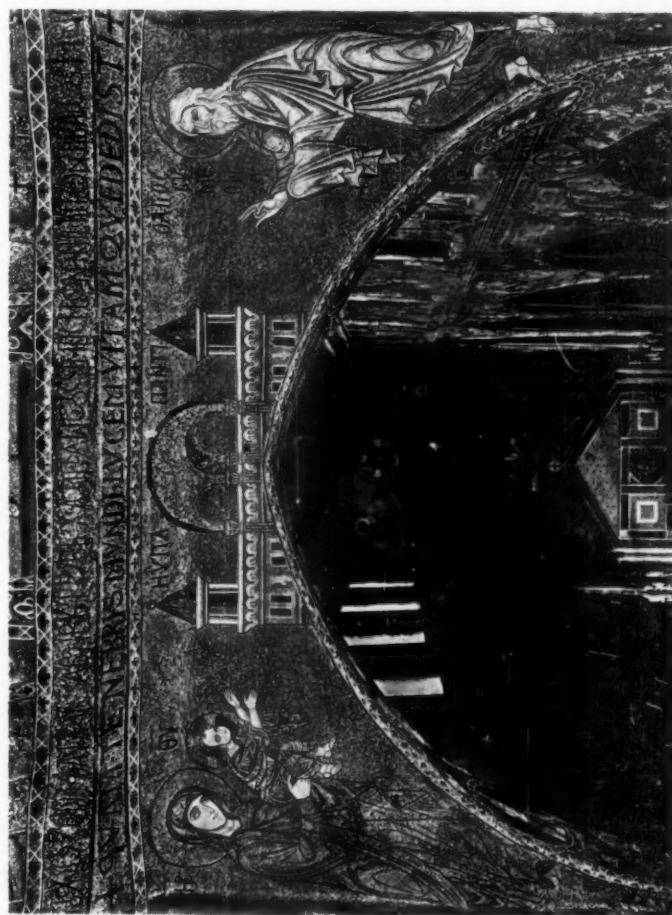


FIG. 12. Cappella Palatina, Sanctuary, western arch: *Presentation in the Temple*

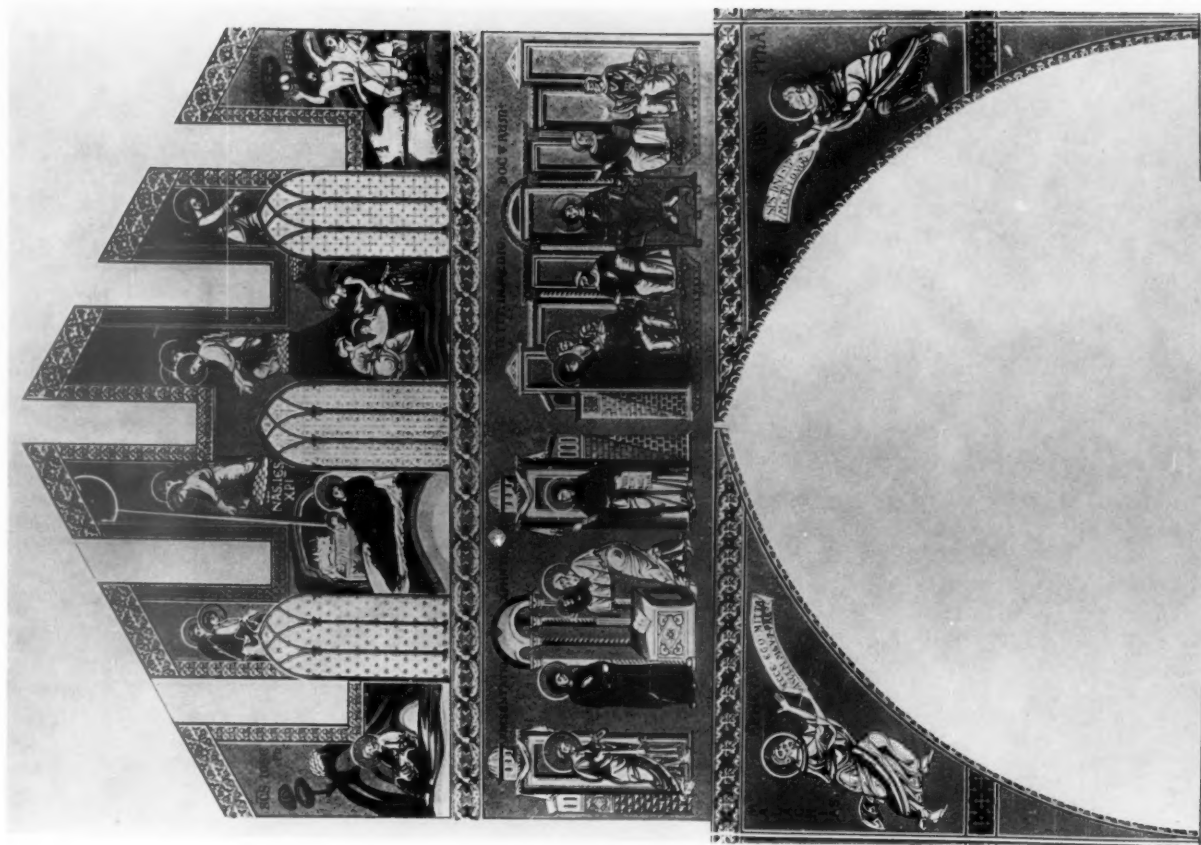


FIG. 13. Monreale, Cathedral, Sanctuary, western arch: *Nativity, Presentation in the Temple, Christ Among the Doctors, Prophets Malachi and Isaias* (composite print after Gravina)



FIG. 14. Cappella Palatina, Transept, northern wing, east wall:
Hodegetria, St. John the Baptist, Apostle Andrew



FIG. 15. Cappella Palatina, Transept, southern wing, east wall:
Nativity, Apostle Paul



FIG. 16. Cappella Palatina, Transept, northern wing; west wall:
three female saints

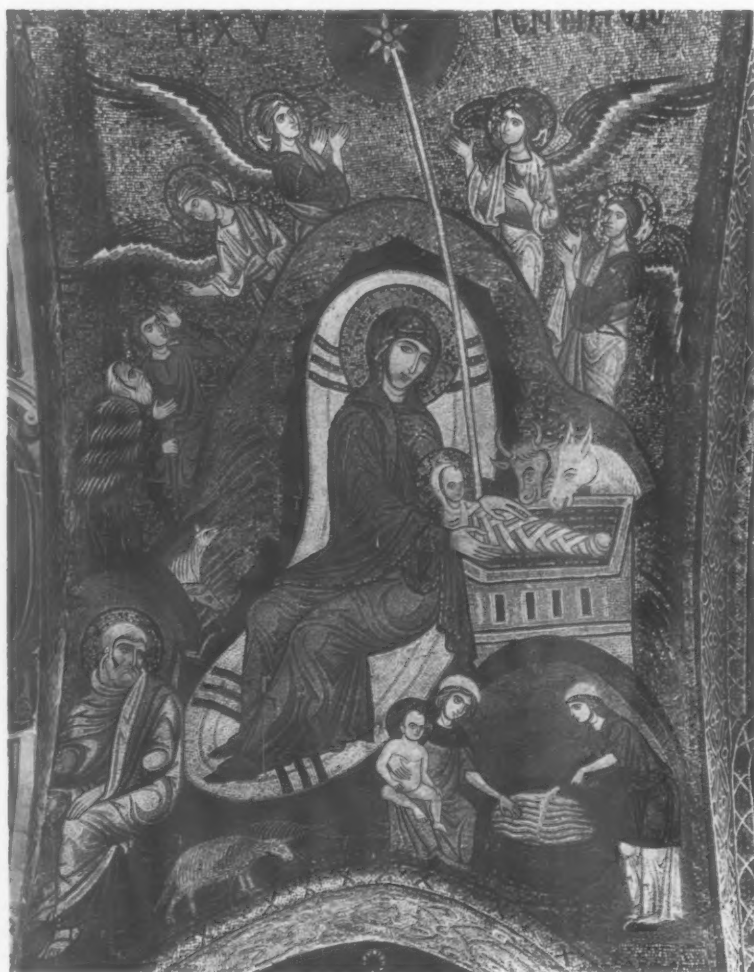


FIG. 17. Palermo, Martorana:
Nativity



FIG. 18. Cappella Palatina, Transept, southern wing, south wall: *Entry into Jerusalem*

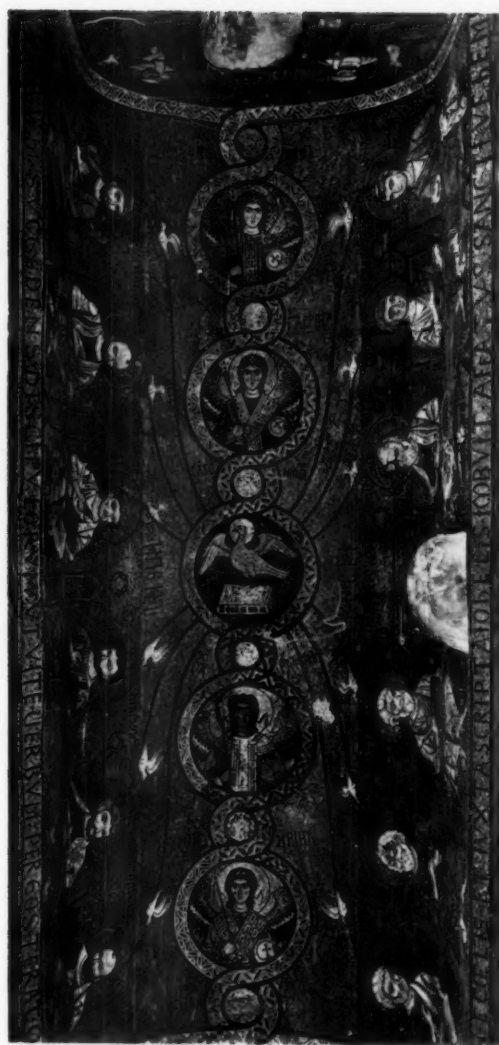


FIG. 19. Cappella Palatina, Transept, southern wing, vault: *Pentecost*



FIG. 20. Cappella Palatina, Dome

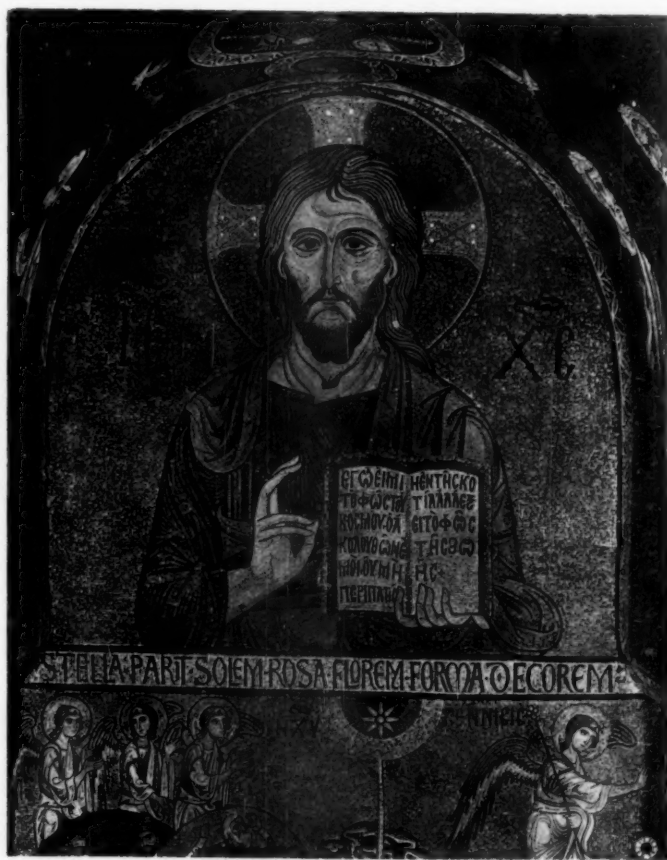


FIG. 21. Cappella Palatina, Transept, southern wing: Bust of Christ in eastern lunette of vault



FIG. 22. Cefalù, Cathedral, Main apse: *Pantokrator*



FIG. 23. Cappella Palatina, Main apse: *Pantokrator*



FIG. 24. Monreale, Cathedral, Main apse: *Pantokrator*

christological cycle and the choirs of saints have their allotted places and their specific functions.¹³³ A one-sided stress of the royal theme within the life of Christ, an underscoring of this theme by means of the accompanying figures of saints, and, above all, a centering of this whole group of images on a single spectator (even though it be the ruler himself)—all these things are hardly conceivable in Byzantium. The arrangement in the Cappella Palatina is not objective, but subjective. It is designed to gratify the king, who apparently was to find reflected in the sacred images his own militant power and his own real and anticipated triumphs. The use of religious imagery for such purposes is not altogether foreign to Byzantium.¹³⁴ But one may doubt whether in a Byzantine church sacred icons depicting the incarnate life of Christ or choirs of saints could have been used in this fashion. The Normans failed to understand or chose to ignore the true role of the icon in a Byzantine church, namely, to serve as a mystic enactment of a body of eternal and universal truths on which the empire was founded and of which the emperor was the principal custodian. Instead, the Normans made of at least part of the church decoration a paean to the king. Since their adoption of Byzantine imagery was probably bound up from the outset with practical politics, this change of emphasis is perhaps only logical.¹³⁵

At present this interpretation of the mosaics in the Cappella Palatina can be proposed only as a hypothesis. It will remain a hypothesis as long as there is so much uncertainty on basic archaeological questions, such as the date of the loggia in the northern wing of the transept and the degree to which restorers may have falsified the style of certain mosaics crucial to the establishment of a secure chronology. Even an inquiry which, like the present one, is concerned only with the broad layout of subject matter must remain tentative until a firm basis can be provided by a close investigation of archaeological details.

Meanwhile, however, the interpretation offered in these pages can perhaps claim a certain inner plausibility. It is in keeping with the "enlightened" atmosphere of King Rogers court¹³⁶ and its sober and practical approach to religious matters.¹³⁷ Where there were so many different peoples and creeds religious dogma could not play the role of a universal and objective norm which it played in Byzantium. The state became viable only on the basis of extreme religious tolerance, avoidance of theological argument, and an extraordinary emphasis on the person of the ruler.

It is not surprising to find religious imagery also pressed into the service of this central idea. The phenomenon has a striking parallel in certain liturgical formulae which have been ascribed to Norman Sicily and which likewise display an unprecedented concentration on the royal person and the royal theme.¹³⁸ Furthermore, what we have found in the Sicilian mosaics perhaps is related to other phenomena in Western art of the same period. The boldest innovation in the design of Abbot Suger's new façade of the Abbey Church of St. Denis, royal burial church and symbolic if not actual seat of power of the French monarchy, was the prominent representation, in the form of column statues, of Biblical kings and queens, who were antecedents not only of Christ but of the

133. See above, p. 274.

134. Cf. the representation of Old Testament heroes and their deeds as prototypes of the emperors and their victorious exploits (Grabar, *L'Empereur*, pp. 95ff.; K. Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll*, Princeton, 1948, pp. 113f.).

135. The portrayal of Roger II in the Martorana offers an analogous phenomenon; cf. my forthcoming paper quoted in footnote 129 above. It should be emphasized that the presence of un-Byzantine elements in the program of the mosaics in the Cappella Palatina, which this analysis has disclosed, does not, or at least not necessarily, have any bearing on the question of whether or not the executing artists were Byzantines. A clear distinction must be made between the design of the program (i.e. the choice of subjects and their distribution in the church) and the work on the mosaics themselves.

136. Caspar, *op.cit.*, pp. 436ff.; C. H. Haskins, *Studies in*

the History of Medieval Science, Cambridge, Mass., 1927, pp. 155ff.

137. Caspar, *op.cit.*, pp. 9ff., 446f.

138. Cf. Kantorowicz' analysis of the Laudes of Palermo, which he ascribes to Norman times (*Laudes Regiae*, pp. 157ff.): "There is no haggling over . . . symbols of spiritual or secular supremacy. Here the state has engulfed the Church. . . . It is the idea of royal absolutism in its then harshest form. . . ." Cf. also the same author's discussion of a South Italian variant of the finale of the Exultet, which he ascribes to the early twelfth century and which includes the martial triad . . . *vivis, regnas, imperas* . . . *Jhesu Christe* reminiscent of the *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat* of the Laudes Regiae (*Harvard Theological Review*, 1941, pp. 129ff.).

French kings as well. The theme was taken over soon afterwards at Chartres on the portal that is known even now—and was known already in the Middle Ages—as the Portail Royal.¹³⁹

The comparison with St. Denis and Chartres cannot, of course, be sustained on the level of concrete detail either iconographic or stylistic. It concerns such elusive factors as the thoughts which may have motivated the designers of these programs and their mental attitudes towards religious imagery and its role in the church building. Scientific precision is difficult to achieve in such matters. Yet it is probably true to say that the mosaics of the Cappella Palatina, however Byzantine they may be in appearance, bear the imprint of a spirit ultimately more akin to the courtly and worldly atmosphere of the Ile de France than to the politico-religious mysticism of the Eastern Empire.

¹³⁹ E. Houvet, *Cathédrale de Chartres. Portail Occidental ou Royal*, n.d., p. 2, n. 1, traces the name "Portail Royal" back as far as the first half of the thirteenth century.

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RICHARD PAYNE KNIGHT

NIKOLAUS PEVSNER

I

RICHARD PAYNE KNIGHT was the grandson of a man who had made money in the growing Shropshire iron industry, and the son of a clergyman, fifty-three years old when Richard was born in 1750.¹ Payne Knight, whose fame rests on his antiquarian and his aesthetic writings, was three when Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty* came out, six when Burke published his *Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*, twelve when Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens* began to appear, thirteen when Winckelmann completed his *History of Ancient Art*, and eighteen when the Royal Academy was founded and entrusted to Sir Joshua as its first president. He was a weak child, not sent to school till the age of fourteen and never sent to university. But he went on the grand tour to Italy about the year 1767, stayed for several years, went again in 1777, and again in 1785. His stays thus overlapped with Winckelmann's (1755-1768) and Fuseli's (1770-1778) and preceded Flaxman's (1787-1794) by a few years.

Goethe's Italian journey which stands at the beginning of the true Greek Revival in European thought, took place in 1786-1787 and is in a curious way connected with Knight's. Knight, seventeen years old, accompanied Philipp Hackaert and Charles Gore on a tour through Sicily in 1777. Hackaert, a painter from Prussia, had reached Rome in 1768, made his name as a specialist in Italian landscapes, painted much for Lord Exeter, Sir William Hamilton, and other British virtuosi, and was made painter to the King of Naples in 1786. Goethe met him at Naples and in 1811 wrote his biography. Charles Gore, twenty-one years older than Knight,² spent the years 1773-1780 in Italy, learned from Hackaert to draw and paint, had his talented daughters also taught by Hackaert, and finally settled down with them in 1791 at Weimar to be close to Goethe and his circle. He died there in 1807. His name does not appear in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Now Knight kept a diary of his Sicilian trip, and this is, it seems, preserved only in Goethe's translation inserted into his *Hackaert*. As the passages printed as an appendix to this article will prove, it shows Knight as a very demure young man, proud of his amateur learning, and rather dull. There is nothing in his descriptions either as observant or as human as every page of Goethe's *Travels in Italy*. But while Knight wrote down carefully what he saw of Paestum, Stromboli, Lipari, Palermo, Monreale, Girgenti, Syracuse, Catania, Mount Etna, Taormina, and Messina, his mind must at the same time have been engaged on thoughts of his estate at home, where developments were taking place which show him in a much more interesting light.

In 1774 he had begun to build Downton Castle near Ludlow, and 1778 is the date given for the completion of the house, though it is likely that its decoration and furnishing went on a little longer after his return (Fig. 3). It is an exceptionally important house in three ways: in its contrast between exterior and interior, in the deliberate asymmetry of its plan, and in the sources from which Knight drew his inspiration for its appearance. On each of these three aspects of Downton Castle more or less detailed comments are needed to attain a full understanding of Knight as an amateur architect.

1. On Payne Knight's life, see the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and its bibliography.

2. Cf. Thieme-Becker's *Künstlerlexikon*.

The first aspect need not keep us long. Downton Castle possesses an embattled, that is imitation mediaeval, exterior, but interiors in the grand Roman style, with porphyry columns imported from Italy and classic detail of the Robert Adam-James Holland kind. The dining room, for instance, is a miniature version of the Pantheon, round, with the typical niches, the coffered vault and the central opening of the Pantheon, but it is placed into a square sturdy tower. Knight was proud of the idea of thus combining two styles. Thirty years later still he mentions in his *Enquiry into the Principles of Taste* (p. 223) his Grecian rooms and his battlements, unaware perhaps of the fact that he was not quite alone in his heresy. Robert Adam, for instance, designed Culzean Castle with battlements and a thick round tower, but a classical double staircase inside.³

So much for this, if not unique at least uncommon, feature. The second point to emphasize about Downton, its asymmetrical plan, requires far longer digressions. The fact is that an asymmetrical plan in 1775 was something extremely unusual, and that its antecedents have to my knowledge not so far been assembled in the literature on architectural history. We shall therefore have to go back for a moment to a time long before Knight was born.

II

In examining the designs of Italian, German, and Spanish (not to mention French) Baroque architects, it will, I think, be found that, however willful the elevations, the identity of the two sides of one façade was never abandoned. Not even the most Rococo of decorators had gone beyond asymmetry in ornament. To whom has this revolution in planning then to be attributed?

The answer is, if I am not mistaken, Vanbrugh—not a surprising answer, if one thinks of it in conjunction with Vanbrugh's position in the early history of the Picturesque movement, his pleading for the preservation of the Old Manor at Blenheim, because of the "lively and pleasing reflections" which such a memorable pile would arouse, his love of battlements and cyclopic walls, and his emphasis on wildernesses with winding paths in the grounds of Castle Howard and Charlemont.⁴

In architecture the decisive design is Vanbrugh Castle at Blackheath near London (Figs. 1 and 2). Vanbrugh bought some land close to the top of Greenwich Park, probably in 1717. On December 21, 1717 he mentions "my Country morsell." He designed and built several other houses on his ground, but only his own villa, Vanbrugh Castle, is important in our context. As it appears now, it is obviously not in its original state.⁵ A wing which is clearly a much later addition projects on the right as one faces the entrance side. But even without this, there remains a building with a symmetrical center from which some rooms extend north from the west end, and some east from the east end (*see plan*, p. 306). There is, however, something puzzling about these extensions which, I think, has not been discussed in the literature on Vanbrugh. They do not belong to the original house. Joints can be seen at the corner between entrance and east wing and also in the crucial place on the north side. So Vanbrugh's villa was originally a small symmetrical house, developed incidentally on a pattern of Elizabethan inspiration, as I have shown elsewhere.⁶ On the other hand the conversion of a symmetrical into an asymmetrical house cannot have been made after Vanbrugh's time. The vaulted corridor in the east wing and the chimney over the east end are as typical of his personal style as the excessive batter of the chimney on the west wing (Fig. 2), and conscious imitation of Vanbrugh during the eighteenth century, to which the additions obviously belong, can probably be ruled out. So the evidence of the building itself points to an original symmetrical

3. See A. T. Bolton, *The Works of Robert Adam*, London, 1922.

4. See *The Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh*, IV, *The Letters*, ed. G. Webb, Nonesuch Press, 1928; and H. Avray Tipping, *English Homes*, Period IV, vol. II, by Christopher

Hussey, *Country Life*, 1928.

5. See G. H. Lovegrove in *London Topographical Record*, IV, 1907.

6. *Architectural Review*, CVII, 1950.

house enlarged by Vanbrugh himself. If he built in 1717 or 1718, he had not much time left for his wings; for he died in 1726. What made him suddenly want so much larger a house? Mr. Summerson, with whom I examined the building,⁷ suggests what seems to me a most convincing answer: Vanbrugh married late in life, in January 1719. The Venetian window of the north wing is indeed most similar to Seaton Delaval designed between 1718 and 1720.

It is not easy to decide what made Vanbrugh design his own house in this way. As for the mediaevalizing elevations, they are certainly the outcome of his general liking for a "Castle Air,"⁸ but whether more specific sources existed cannot be proved. They may have been of three kinds: Mediaeval Chester where Vanbrugh grew up and whose walls with "a round Tower" and "a single Cap" impressed him sufficiently for him to quote them still in a letter about Castle Howard in 1724⁹ or alternatively France where he had been by mistake imprisoned in the Bastille in 1692 and where such towers could be seen everywhere, or finally stage architecture by Italian or Italianizing Baroque designers with which he as an author and owner of a theater must have been acquainted. Round towers with machicolations appeared already as an indication of a heroic mediaeval setting in Inigo Jones's stage designs.¹⁰ They reappear for instance in Francesco and Ferdinando Galli Bibiena.¹¹

Vanbrugh in the mediaevalizing lack of regularity of his own house remained apparently completely without successor for a whole generation. Mediaevalizing designs appeared here and there, but neither Hawksmoor nor Kent nor Roger Morris at Inverary Castle nor Sanderson Miller ventured to design asymmetrically.

The next date of importance is 1750, the year in which Horace Walpole began to remodel his country cottage at Twickenham into a Gothic castle.¹² Admittedly the alterations were for some years very modest, and the present main view of Strawberry Hill (Fig. 4), with the cloister and gallery and the Round Room and Beauclerk Tower at the end farthest away from the original cottage, is the work of only the sixties and seventies. But on February 25, 1750, Walpole had already written to Sir Horace Mann: "I am almost as fond of the Sharawadgi or Chinese want of symmetry, in buildings, as in grounds and gardens"—where by then, needless to say, it had become a well established principle in England. Now in the completed building of Strawberry Hill part also follows part in a loose, informal sequence, apparently (and in fact) the outcome of growth rather than planning. Walpole's pattern must have been those semidemolished monastic houses as Lacock or Newstead in which after the Dissolution life went on in whatever parts happened to survive. He once even wrote of the "conventual look" of one motif in one of the rooms.¹³ However, in spite of all the exact copying which is so characteristic of the individual motifs of Walpole's interiors, no immediate sources for his façades have as yet been found. And although it is no doubt true that he identified the "gloomth" of his apartments with the scenery of the *Castle of Otranto*, his source certainly did not lie on the other side of the Alps. This fact may not seem to require emphasis. It is evidently the accepted view that the Gothic Revival with its crenellations and ogee-headed windows is wholly a matter of rediscovering a national baronial past.

Nor may Payne Knight's Downton Castle, to which we can now return, at first sight appear to contradict this view. Its round and polygonal towers and its battlements do not seem to be of a kind fundamentally different from those of Strawberry Hill. Yet Knight's source was indeed of

7. Kindly conducted by the Headmaster of the Alexander Duckham Memorial Schools.

8. *The Letters*, p. 14, letter of 1707.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

10. P. Simpson and C. F. Bell, *Designs by Inigo Jones*, Walpole Society, 1924, pls. 36 and 40; A. Nicoll, *Stuart Masques*, 1937, pp. 20, 145. Compare also the plate showing a performance by French actors at St. Salvator in Munich in about 1658. It is illustrated in S. W. Holsboer, *L'Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre français de 1600 à 1657*,

1933, pl. xi.

11. J. Gregor, *Monumenta Scenica*, II, pls. VII, VIII; also C. Ricci, *La Scenografia italiana*, 1930, pl. 37; and A. Hyatt Mayor, *The Bibiena Family*, 1945, pl. 38 (ascribed to Guiseppe).

12. On the history of the building of Strawberry Castle, see Wilmarth S. Lewis's exemplary paper in the *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, I, 1934.

13. Letter of Dec. 19, 1753, to Bentley.

quite another kind. The compactness of Downton Castle is perhaps the only visual hint at the buildings to which he went for inspiration. They were not buildings ever built; they were buildings drawn and painted. It has long been known and sufficiently stressed by Mr. Hussey in his classic *The Picturesque* that Claude Lorraine, Gaspard Poussin, and Salvator Rosa are amongst the most effective inspirers of the Picturesque mood in England. The Arcadian landscapes of Lorraine and Gaspar and the savage landscapes of Salvator were the ideal of Kent and Brown and the early amateurs such as Hamilton. Payne Knight knew of many Lorraine paintings; for instance, to mention only one of special importance in our connection, *The Enchanted Castle* which at that time belonged to Chauncey (1706-1777), a doctor, better known as an antiquary. And as for Lorraine drawings, Knight collected them himself, and collected them with enthusiasm, as can still be seen at the British Museum, to which he left his Lorraines. Now we need only remember what buildings in their backgrounds and what the *Enchanted Castle* look like to recognize their forms in the design of Downton Castle (Figs. 5-10). No detailed comment is necessary; the illustrations are self-explanatory: an engraving of Downton by J. Smith from a drawing by Thomas Hearne (1744-1817) (Fig. 10) a lithograph of Downton, drawn by F. Page (Fig. 9) some background details from Earlom's mezzotints in the *Liber Veritatis* taken from Lorraine's drawings (Figs. 6-8) and the Castle in Earlom's mezzotint of *The Enchanted Castle* (Fig. 9).¹⁴

A full thirty years later, when Knight put his aesthetic theories on paper,¹⁵ he wrote: "I do not know a more melancholy object" than classical houses of strict symmetry in the countryside. "Houses should be irregular where all the accompaniments are irregular,"¹⁶ "the best style for irregular and picturesque houses, which can now be adopted, is that mixed style, which characterizes the buildings of Claude and the Poussins."¹⁷

Two things in this passage need special stress: that Knight does not pronounce himself in favor of the imitation of mediaeval English buildings (in fact he speaks in another place of "the barbarous structures of the Middle Ages . . . rude and unskilful . . . heavy, clumsy and gloomy"¹⁸); and that he confines his plea for asymmetry to houses in the country, that is, houses as part of landscape. In town, or rather in buildings not connected with trees, lawns, moss and so on, he appreciates "neatness, freshness, lightness, symmetry, regularity, uniformity and propriety."¹⁹

III

All this no doubt he found in his London House in Soho Square, one of those inimitably plain, staid, comfortable houses which the late seventeenth century put up everywhere on the new estates in London. Here Payne Knight kept, besides his drawings and paintings, a vast number of antiques, mainly bronzes, coins, gems, utensils, and such like, the collection which is now the pride of the British Museum. Marbles he never collected. Hence, Horace Walpole, who disliked him intensely, chose to call him *Knight of the Brazen Milkpot*.²⁰ The truth is that Knight's interest, an uncommonly intelligent interest, and his knowledge, an uncommonly wide knowledge, were chiefly concerned with the contents of works of art, not with their aesthetic value. It will be for the next few pages to prove this contention.

He had become a member of the Society of Dilettanti in 1781 (the same year as Charles Gore) and prepared for the Society two folio volumes of *Specimens of Antique Sculpture*. The first came out in 1809, the second only after his death in 1835. The introductions to both of them are by him, but neither deals with ancient art as art. The first is a history of technique, although the

14. The present owner of Downton Castle, Mr. C. A. Rouse-Boughton-Knight, kindly lent me the two pictures of Downton and allowed me to reproduce them here.

15. *An Analytical Enquiry into the Principles of Taste*, 1805; quoted here from the third edition, 1806.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 222.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

20. Letter of March 22, 1796.

plates contain the major specimens of the collection of his friend Charles Townley (then already at the British Museum) and some from those of Thomas Hope and the Marquess of Lansdowne, together with plenty of small works in Knight's own possession.

For the second volume of the *Specimens* Knight had prepared a long dissertation on the *Symbolical Language of Ancient Art and Mythology*, which, impatient with the Dilettanti's dilatoriness, he published separately in 1818. It is an eminently interesting book, republished in America as late as 1892. The editor of this edition calls Knight "one of the most thorough scholars of the earlier period" of the nineteenth century, a man of "profound judgment . . . acuteness, and erudition," and his book "an invaluable collection of . . . curious learning . . . not superseded in any important aspect," and "of untold value for the unfolding of correcter views of Ancient Mythology, than have been commonly entertained."

So Knight's competence and learning must have progressed enormously between the time when he wrote his Sicilian diary and 1818. In fact his mental development was much more rapid. Its earliest witness is a rare book, his first, published in 1786, for distribution by the Dilettanti, and soon afterwards as far as possible withdrawn. Its title is *A Discourse on the Worship of Priapus and its Connection with the Mystic Theology of the Ancients*. The British Museum possesses no copy of it, nor indeed of the American reprint which appeared in 1894, with extensive annotations and additions by Thomas Wright, the erudite antiquary.

The *Worship of Priapus* is only one of many books by Knight on antiquarian matters, but owing to its somewhat *risquées* plates it is less easily accessible than the others and may therefore serve to illustrate Knight's surprisingly original and in some ways modern approach to the dry subject matter of eighteenth century archaeology and philology.

His other philological books are *An Analytical Essay on the Greek Alphabet* of 1791, and the *Prolegomena* to an edition of Homer attempting to restore the original text. This was published in Latin in 1808. Knight also wrote occasionally in *Archaeologia* and other periodicals; but his *magnum opus* is the *Symbolical Language*, and this incorporates after removal of the passages most violently attacked (even in Parliament) the essence of the *Worship of Priapus*.

Knight's approach to his subject is—I can think of no better term—psychoanalytical. He was a Whig and a hater of bigotry. His own religion seems to have been a broad pantheism. He believed in what he called a "system of emanations . . . the fundamental principle of the religions of a large majority of the human race . . . though not now acknowledged by any established sect of Christians."²¹ The system supposes a "universal expansion of the creative spirit" by which "every production of earth, water, and air, participates in its essence." Thus there is perpetual creative movement, "emanating from and reverting back to its source."²²

His pantheism made him see all creeds as one. He had no preference for the Christian over others. Christianity contains the same hoary truths as the mystery religions of the Orient and Greece, of India and America. This conception provided his starting point for the *Worship of Priapus*. Knight had received a remarkable letter in 1781 from Sir William Hamilton, British Ambassador in Naples, Knight's friend, Lady Hamilton's husband, and a famous collector of Greek vases. In this letter Hamilton told of the celebrations of St. Cosmo's day at Isernia, at which male members of wax were sold to women as ex-votos. His intention in reporting this strange ritual was to show up "the similitude of the Popish and Pagan Religion."

Knight's tendency was different. He appears to accuse Christianity as a whole and defend paganism. The custom of Isernia seems "monstrous and indecent" to us, but is "a very natural symbol of a very natural system of religion, if considered according to its original use and intention. An-

21. Preface to *Alfred*, 1823.

22. *Symbolical Language*, ed. in *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture*, II, p. 20.

tiquity humanized all natural forces and could therefore see no harm in this particular form to represent the powers of generation."

This is a statement as bold as any in Rousseau. In Knight it can be accounted for by a mixture of the antiquarian with the Whig revolutionary, a mixture responsible for such daring statements in various books of his, as that "Adam, in paradise, was an African black";²³ that the Apollo Belvedere looks strikingly like "some Mohawk warriors";²⁴ that "metaphysical theology is a study . . . very deservedly neglected at present";²⁵ that "one of the greatest curses that ever afflicted the human race [is] dogmatical theology"; that the Christian religion is but "a reformation of the Jewish"; that St. Paul's doctrine of grace served only "to emancipate the consciences of the faithful from the shackles of practical morality"; that the dove above the head of a statue of Bacchus at Hierapolis was "the Holy Spirit, the first-begotten love"; and that the T-cross as it appears in representations of Christ Crucified is originally a male symbol.

Sexual symbolism altogether is what fascinated Knight more than anything in antiquarian lore, and if his little book, where copies exist in libraries, is now kept in the librarian's poison cupboard, it does not deserve such treatment more than Freud's writings on similar subjects. It is quite different in this respect from its immediate predecessor, Hancarville's *Veneres et Priapi*, published in 1784, and financed by Hamilton. Knight's comparisons of the shell or concha with the female parts, the serpent and the bull and the obelisk with the male member, and the Italian gesture of the thumb sticking out between second and third finger (as a safeguard against the evil eye) with the act of copulation are in fact expeditions into the subconscious, amazing for their date.

The two chief differences between the eighteenth century amateur and twentieth century nerve specialist are classical scholarship and elegance of diction. It may perhaps be advisable to illustrate this by two quotations.

The first is chosen to show Knight "spread profuse the feast of Grecian lore" (as he rhymed about Fox):

"As fire was the primary essence of the active or male powers of creation and generation, so was water of the passive or female. Appian [*De Bello Parthico*] says, that the goddess worshipped at Hierapolis in Syria was called by some Venus, by others Juno, and by others held to be the cause which produced the beginnings and seeds of things from humidity. Plutarch [*In Crasso*], describes her nearly in the same words, and the author of the treatise attributed to Lucian [*De Dea Syria*], says she was Nature, the parent of things, or the creatress."²⁶

The second is *à propos* the temple prostitution at Corinth and Eryx:

"When there were such seminaries for female education . . . we need not wonder that the ladies of antiquity should be extremely well instructed in all the practical duties of their religion. The stories told of Julia and Messalina show us that the Roman ladies were no way deficient. . . ."²⁷ These passages suffice to show the mixture of Caylus and Casanova, of scholarship and Hell-Fire Club tradition that existed in Knight's mind, the crispness of his style and his intelligent, searching approach to his subject. But, once again, with the aesthetic qualities of antique art this approach has nothing to do.

IV

Knight's aesthetic obtuseness comes out most clearly in his views on the Elgin Marbles, and it is these perhaps even more than his unusual and some times questionable approach to antiquarian matters that have discredited him in the eyes of literary and art critics.

Lord Elgin acquired the major portion of the Parthenon sculptures while he was British Am-

23. *Enquiry into the Principles of Taste*, p. 123.

24. *The Landscape*, p. 3.

25. *Worship of Priapus*.

26. *Worship of Priapus*.

27. *Worship of Priapus*.

bassador to Turkey. They were, under manifold difficulties, transported to England and exhibited in his town house. Then, in 1815, suggestions were made for the national purchase of the marbles, and a committee collected evidence on their value, and the price that might be paid for them.²⁸

The witnesses were Flaxman, Westmacott, Chantrey, Nollekens, and Rossi amongst sculptors, Wilkins amongst architects, Sir Thomas Lawrence, West and the gentleman-dealer Alexander Day amongst painters; then there were a number of others to tell of the way in which Lord Elgin had purchased the marbles and of similar matters not related to their merit. Finally one, and only one, appeared of the influential class of the dilettanti, Payne Knight. The artists acquitted themselves handsomely. Nollekens said the marbles were "the finest things that ever came to this country," Flaxman "the finest works of art I have seen," Rossi also "the finest that I have ever seen," Westmacott "of the first class of art," Chantrey "of the highest class"; and Sir Thomas Lawrence added to his praise that their purchase would be "a very essential benefit to the arts of this country."

Some went even beyond such general statements, especially Westmacott who called the Theseus "infinitely superior to the Apollo Belvedere," and Benjamin West P.R.A., who said: "Had I been blessed with seeing and studying these emanations of genius at an earlier period of life the sentiment of their pre-eminence would have animated all my exertions; and more character and expression and life would have pervaded all my humble attempts in historical paintings." Lawrence and Rossi also preferred the Parthenon works to the Apollo. The only sculptor in fact who emphatically insisted on the superiority of the Apollo—the statue which had been the idol of Winckelmann, Mengs, and their slightly earlier generation—was Flaxman, who in his art belongs indeed more to the early than the mature phase of the Classical Revival. Flaxman said that the Apollo "partakes more of ideal beauty than the Theseus," although the latter is an original, the former a copy. He also said that the merit of the female figures was less and that the frieze had too much "of common nature." Similarly, Wilkins, the architect of the National Gallery and Downing College, had unqualified praise only for the architectural fragments ("in the very highest order of art"), whereas regarding the sculptures he preferred the Townley Venus, the Lansdowne Hercules, and several things in the Louvre to them. The frieze he called downright mediocre, and most of the other fragments "not . . . fit models for imitation." Thus the purchase seemed unnecessary to him, while Flaxman, in spite of his qualified praise, called it "of the greatest importance" to the British public and the future of sculpture.

Knight had written in the first volume of the *Specimens*, that is, in 1808, that the frieze and metopes of the Parthenon were "merely architectural sculptures executed from [Phidias's] designs and under his direction probably by workmen scarcely ranked among artists and meant to be seen at the height of more than forty feet from the eye."²⁹ So one knows what to expect now. The first statement of his evidence is that the best of the Elgin marbles he would "put in the second rank . . . of art," because in first-rate sculpture such as the Laocoon, marks of chiseling ought to be visible. The Ilissos, for instance, shows none; and Knight insisted on the validity of the argument although he had to admit later that neither the Apollo nor the Venus de Medici show chisel marks.

Knight then proceeded to discredit the authorship of Phidias by quoting Plutarch—an argument justly refuted as "uncandid" by the *Quarterly Magazine*.³⁰ In fact, Knight's view was that the majority of the Parthenon sculptures belonged not even to the age of Phidias, but to that of Hadrian. He left its fifth century date to the Ilissos, but expressed doubt in the case of the Theseus. He called the draperies "complicated and stringy," the state of preservation of most of the figures too bad to form an accurate judgment, the female figures "of little value, except from their local interests," the metopes "some very poor, some very fine," and only the frieze "of the first class."

28. *Reports from Committees*, 1, 1816, vol. III.

29. P. xxxix.

30. Vol. XIV, January, 1816.

Maybe Knight was deliberately provocative in all this; for the chairman, Henry Banks, was a Tory M.P. and a supporter of Pitt, whereas Knight was a friend of Fox and had published a *Monody* on Fox's death (1806/7). But even so, Knight's remains a painful piece of evidence, groping, fumbling, and all the time changing targets. It lacks any understanding of the creative powers of the Periclean age. Benjamin Haydon, a spokesman of later romantic theory in England, answered thus: "Far be it from Mr. Knight to know, that in the most broken fragment the same great principle of life can be proved to exist as in the most perfect figure. Is not life just as palpable in the last joint of your forefinger as in the centre of your heart?"³¹

V

Yet, in spite of his apparent aesthetic insensibility, Knight is rightly considered a pioneer of aesthetics in England. This may seem paradoxical, even after looking over at least one of his two books on matters of aesthetics; *The Landscape*, a poem which came out in 1794. It is incidentally not the only poem that Knight made public. His *Monody on the Death of the Right Honourable Charles James Fox* has been mentioned, and he also wrote a long poem in a Lucretian vein on *The Progress of Civil Society* (1796), and a verse romance *Alfred* (1823).

To avoid over-rating or under-rating *The Landscape* it must be seen in its setting. The year 1794 marks the beginning of a new, the fourth phase in the history of the Picturesque movement in England.³² The first phase goes from Sir William Temple and Shaftesbury to Addison and Pope and on to Batty Langley and Kent; that is, from about 1690 to 1725 or 1730.³³ The second belongs to Kent in practice and to Shenstone of the Leasowes near Birmingham and early Gilpin in theory; the third, to Capability Brown, the gardener who worked from 1750 to 1783, and the group of writers on gardening who published books between 1760 and 1775 (Lord Kames 1761, Whately 1765, Mason 1765, Walpole 1771, Chambers 1772). The second and third phases differ from the first in that they are not phases of discovery but of establishment. In 1739 a fashionable magazine wrote that "you hardly meet anybody who . . . does not inform you that he is in Mortar and moving of Earth."³⁴ By then the Kent elements of the landscape garden, a serpentine river or lake, clumps of trees, and a belt round the boundary had become indispensable. Capability Brown popularized and standardized them, and the number of estates remodeled by him is legion. He was the first professional gardener in England to achieve the fame of great painters and architects (Kent had been both, besides being a garden designer). By then the English were told, too, that gardening is an art superior to architecture (Kames) and superior to painting (Whately), that England can claim "a preference over every nation in Europe [in the] enchanting art of modern gardening" (J. Warton),³⁵ and that "the only proof of our original talent in matters of pleasure [is] our skill in gardening" (Thomas Gray).³⁶ And by then Horace Walpole could write a *History of the Modern Taste in Gardening* (1771).

If the gardens of the first phase were characterized by a wiggly, busy, rococo intricacy, those of the second and third have the gentle nostalgia of Gainsborough's beggar boys and Greuze's village maidens, and the smoothness of Reynolds's portraits and Mengs's or Benjamin West's subject paintings. Brown's is a very accomplished but not a vigorous style. The theorists regard "softening nature's harshnesses and copying her graceful touch" as the gardener's chief task (Walpole 1771).

The fourth phase sets in with three publications all appearing in 1794. One of these was a

31. *The Judgment of Connoisseurs Upon the Works of Art*, 1916, p. 6.

32. For the whole movement, see C. Hussey's *The Picturesque*, 1927.

33. On this phase, see N. Pevsner, "Genesis of the Picturesque,"

Architectural Review, xcvi, 1944, pp. 139-146.

34. Quoted from E. W. Manwaring, *Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England*, 1925, p. 133.

35. *An Essay on . . . Pope*, vol. II, ed. of 1806, p. 179.

36. *Letters*, September 10, 1763.

masterpiece: Uvedale Price's *Essay on the Picturesque*. Price was three years older than Knight.³⁷ His estate, Foxley, was close to Knight's, and the two virtuoso squires must have had many conversations as their improvements went on. They were both Whigs and both friends of Fox. At a Royal Academy banquet in 1796, Farington saw Fox sitting between the two of them.³⁸ Both had traveled widely in Italy. Price, by the time his *Essay* came out, had not written anything yet, Knight had already shown plenty of curious antiquarian learning. But Price, it appears from a comparison of *The Landscape* with the *Essay*, had thought far more on aesthetic theory than Knight. *The Landscape* is dedicated to Price ("Do thou, O Price, the song attend / Instruct the poet and assist the friend"), not the *Essay* to Knight. And Knight went straight on from *The Landscape* to his poem on the *Progress of Civil Society*, and extensive archeological work, while Price spent the next fifteen years enlarging and amending his *Essay* until it came out in its final form in three volumes in 1810. Price is a one-book author, Knight a diffuse writer. To Price the Picturesque is the only topic that matters; if we look for a similar essential topic in Knight's life it is the symbolical meaning of religious forms, not an aesthetic subject at all.

Thus *The Landscape* is not really the outcome of much original thinking. Most of the ideas put forward are identical with Price's and probably come from Price. One or two others can be found concurrently in the third of the publications of 1794, Humphry Repton's *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening*.³⁹ Repton belonged to Price's and Knight's generation. He was born in 1752, and had already improved more than fifty estates when he came out with this, his first, book. He mentions the benefit which he had derived from occasional conversations with Price and Knight, and they call him the leader of his profession. Regarding similarities between the *Sketches and Hints* and *The Landscape* Repton insists that priority is his. His book is, in fact, largely a compilation from the Red Books which he wrote and painted for each estate when he was called in. There are few similarities anyway, and many differences.

Repton regarded himself as the one legitimate pretender to Brown's throne, and carefully distinguished between Brown's art and its faulty imitation by the Brownites. Knight's primary purpose in writing *The Landscape* was to attack both Brown and the Brownites (not excluding Repton). Book I states as the poem's function:

... to kill or cure that strange disease,
Which gives deformity the pow'r to please;
And shows poor Nature, shaven and defaced,
To gratify the jaundiced eye of taste."⁴⁰

Similarly, Book II begins:

Oft when I've seen some lonely mansion stand,
Fresh from th' improvers decorating hand,
'Midst shaven lawns, that far around it creep
In one eternal undulating sweep.

And Book III has on its second page a crushing footnote on Brown's work at Blenheim. Knight's chief arguments against Brown are the same as Price's. Price says⁴¹ that "whoever views objects with a painter's eye, looks with indifference, if not with disgust at the clump, the belts, the made water, and the eternal smoothness" of a place freshly improved by Brown. Knight deplors:

... the formal lump
Which the improver plants, and calls a clump.⁴²

37. See N. Pevsner, *Architectural Review*, xcv, 1944.

38. Farington Diary, ed. Greig, I, p. 146.

39. See N. Pevsner, "Humphry Repton," *Architectural Review*, ciii, 1948, pp. 53-59.

40. *The Landscape*, I, 17-20.

41. *Essay on the Picturesque*, ed. 1810, I, p. 14.

42. *The Landscape*, II, 51-52.

He teaches that:

The wood should always from th' exterior bound
Not as a belt, encircling the domain
Which the tir'd eye attempts to trace in vain.⁴³

And he works himself up into a Johnsonian rage against the modern taste which is

Spreading o'erall its unprolific spawn
In never-ending sheets of vapid lawn.⁴⁴

The reason of Knight's disapproval is interesting. The landscape garden had originally been a protest against the formal French or Dutch garden, that is of nature against rule. Knight's protest against the landscape gardener of his time is exactly the same on a new level. He calls Hogarth's famous serpentine Line of Beauty just as arbitrary as the straight avenues of Versailles had been. He

. . . rejects the pedant's chain;
Which binding beauty in its waving line,
Destroys the charm it vainly would define.⁴⁵

and adds that:

The path that moves in even serpentine,
Is still less nat'ral than the painted line.⁴⁶

Again Price says the same in his soberer way: "It must be remembered that strongly marked, distinct and regular curves, unbroken and undisguised, are hardly less un-natural or formal, though much less grand and simple than straight lines."⁴⁷ So Knight and Price claim for their conception of landscape a truer naturalness than Brown's. Knight demands from a master of landscape that he "appeals from sense directly to the heart."⁴⁸

It is impossible here to go into any discussion of the uses and misuses of the word "nature" by aestheticians from Boileau to Wordsworth. To Brown and Shenstone nature was mild and gentle, Knight likes his nature rough and rugged. He waxes enthusiastic over "native . . . plants in wild obscurity and rude neglect,"⁴⁹ "the weeds that creep / Along the shore, or overhang the steep,"⁵⁰ the banks of a river "with moss and fern o'ergrown,"⁵¹ "the thickets of high-bow'ring wood/Which hang, reflected, o'er the glassy flood,"⁵² "and all such motives, as they grace the foregrounds of Claude Lorraine, or humble Waterloo."

All this again we can read in Price, presented more eloquently and more consistently. But where *The Landscape* scores over the *Essay* is in the two engravings which Knight has added to his book, engravings by Thomas Hearne of the *beau ideal* of a country house in its grounds according to Brown and to Knight (Figs. 11 and 12). Thomas Hearne was much patronized by Knight. He had drawn Greek temples in Sicily, together with Charles Gore, when he was young. Then he specialized more and more in illustrating the antiquities and beauties of his native country. He is best known for his illustrations to Byrnes's *Antiquities* of 1777-1781, and Britton and Brayley's *Beauties of England and Wales* of 1801-1816. He also engraved three plates for Watts's *Seats of the Nobility and Gentry*. A series of water colors of the Downton estate by Hearne are at Downton Castle, and he also illustrated the house in *The Beauties of England and Wales*. His interest in the mediaeval and the picturesque made him a superb tool in Knight's hands. The two engravings in *The Landscape*, have all the force of conviction which the lame rhymes lack. Shaven and defaced indeed are the grounds à la Brown with two lean and miserable bridges across a

43. *Ibid.*, II, 82-84.

44. *Ibid.*, II, 75-76.

45. *Ibid.*, I, 140-142.

46. *Ibid.*, I, 145-146.

47. *Essay*, I, 231.

48. *The Landscape*, I, 114.

49. *Ibid.*, II, 190.

50. *Ibid.*, II, 194.

51. *Ibid.*, II, 195.

smoothly winding stream. Knight's own ideal on the other hand is—this in itself is very remarkable, as I have shown elsewhere—⁵²an Elizabethan mansion set off by a foreground of moss and fern and weeds, and twisted roots and a truly rustic bridge.

It is a brilliantly successful cautionary tale, branded by the enraged Repton as wildly fantastic. Repton the man of common sense and the professional gardener retorts that "The painter turns with indignation from the trim-mown grass, and swept gravel walk; but the gardener, who knows his duty, will remove such unsightly weeds as offend the view from a drawing-room window."⁵⁴

Yet Knight did not mean the engraving to remain a statement on paper. He set his mind on making this sort of landscape come to life. Whether he was occupied with what improvements he made to the surroundings of Downton Castle before or after *The Landscape* we do not know. The result is certainly not much less rugged than the *beau idéal*. But then Knight was in a peculiar position. Downton Castle lies on a steep bank above the River Teme. Down in the valley slightly to the west of the house is an old stone bridge and then the forest with rocks and whirlpools. It is a scenery as romantic as any in a Derbyshire dale. Repton knew it and appreciated it:

"It is impossible, by description, to convey an idea of the natural charms (of Downton Vale), or to do justice to that taste which has displayed these charms to the greatest advantage. A narrow, wild, and natural path sometimes creeps under the beetling rock, close by the margin of a mountain stream. It sometimes ascends to an awful precipice, from whence the foaming waters are heard roaring in the dark abyss below, or seen wildly dashing against its opposite banks; while, in other places, the course of the river being impeded by natural ledges of rock, the vale presents a calm, glassy mirror, that reflects the surrounding foliage. The path, in various places, crosses the river by bridges of the most romantic and contrasted forms; and, branching in various directions, including some miles in length, is occasionally enriched by caves and cells, hovels and covered seats, or other buildings, in perfect harmony with the wild but pleasing horrors of the scene."⁵⁵

Repton's style is highly colored; we may nowadays be too blasé to speak of precipices, dashing waters, abysses, and beetling rocks in Herefordshire. But Repton had not, as far as we know, seen more grandiose landscapes abroad. Besides, his praise of the scene and its inspirer is doubly valuable, because it comes, as we have seen and shall see again, from an adversary.

VI

I used the word romantic a few moments ago for Downton Vale, and Repton uses it too. But it is not really the exact word to apply to Knight's work and Knight himself. It is true, he seems to have done remarkably little to a romantic scenery, but he did something—see the three bridges,⁵⁶ the cells, covered seats, and some other accessories of the *Picturesque* which Repton mentions.

Now to *improve* landscape is unromantic *per se*. The romantic attitude to nature is one of exploration or self-abandon. Nature is accepted as supreme; we can spend a lifetime in studying her in her smallest or her immeasurably greatest works; we can approach her with burning love or with awe—but we can never improve her. That is the faith behind Wordsworth and Constable, behind Turner and Girtin and Cotman and the great romantic scientists of the Davy caliber. The eighteenth century in contrast can say of Keswick and Derwentwater—and it is Gilpin himself who speaks:

"We often observe the craggy points and summits of mountains not well formed; and the mountain itself not exactly shaped. With these things, however, we must rest satisfied; yet sometimes in

52. *Ibid.*, 1, 293.

53. *Architectural Review*, CVII, 1950.

54. *Sketches and Hints*, p. 101 of Loudon's edition.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 232.

smaller matters, a deformity may be done away. An awkward knoll on the foreground may offend, which art may remove or at least correct. It may remove also bushes and rough underwood. Further than that we dare not move—unless perhaps we wish to give the line of the lake a more pleasing sweep by paring away cautiously—very cautiously—here and there a little of the margin.⁵⁷

Knight and Price, no doubt, had more respect for nature, especially because they commanded a wider range of visual receptivity. They also—Price more than Knight—developed and analyzed several of the romantic criteria of aesthetics (contrast, surprise, variety). But the very fact that they still used them to *correct* nature is of the Age of Reason. We can trust Shelley's instinct in such matters; and Shelley wrote to Peacock that Knight and Price "could not catch the hare."⁵⁸

Thus, as far as Knight is concerned, he emphatically belongs, in spite of the rocks and forests of Downton Vale and in spite of Hearne's engravings, to the eighteenth century and not to Wordsworth and Constable. In fact, the engravings themselves are pre-Constable, in that they display compositions à la Ruisdael with all the stage furnishings of the Dutch landscape painters in the foreground.

And as soon as this adherence of Knight to the ideals of the eighteenth century has been seen, it will be found at once in *The Landscape* too, not only in its rhythm, but also in its long antiquarian footnotes with quotations from Pliny and passages in Greek, and in its rambling away into a hundred lines on the greatness of Greece and the history of art down to Rubens and Claude. Compared with Price's consistent and pertinent writing, Knight seems all the time to have only one eye on the immediate purpose of his book. When, for instance, he wants to illustrate the principle of unity of style, he chooses an antiquarian example and compares Greek sculpture and Greek domestic design (with a picture of a bronze jug—Walpole's Brazen Milk-pot—in the author's collection). And the third of the three books of *The Landscape* is entirely on trees, their characteristics and uses, and has nothing at all to do with the Picturesque.

Also Knight is never far off applications to civil society, and the day's politics. Time and again we find him led on from "nature's common charms" to "social man's delight and common use";⁵⁹ from rooks in the morning air to "the ills of public life" and so to the mediaeval monks' "rankling passions," and "foul desires," the vanity and "pomp of wealth" and "the tides of blood that flow on Gallia's shore."⁶⁰

Finally, one more example may be given to show Knight's blindness to the romantic (and incidentally also the mediaeval) mind:

"Ariosto has concluded forty-five of his forty-six cantos with the same thought differently expressed; and I have heard Italians cite this as a most extraordinary effect of a fertile and inventive genius; though they might just as reasonably extoll the invention of an architect for making the capital of every column in an extensive building different.—Quanto diversus ab illo, qui nihil molitur, inepte!—Homer, as often as he has occasion to express the same thought always does it in the same words: this, plain sense naturally dictates; and plain sense and good taste are very nearly allied in everything."⁶¹

With this quotation we can leave *The Landscape* and Downton Castle which Knight handed over to his brother, the distinguished horticulturist, in 1809. He had anyway for a good many years spent most of his time in London, and now his interest in his estate and his improvements was probably waning. Price on the other hand went on living and planting at Foxley, and speculating on the Picturesque. How much in later years the two saw of each other we do not know. What we

57. *Three Essays on the Picturesque*, quoted from W. D. Templeman, *The Life and Work of William Gilpin*, Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, vol. 24, nos. 3-4, 1939.

58. *Letters*, March 21, 1821.

59. *The Landscape*, I, 369.

60. *Ibid.*, III, 402.

61. *Ibid.*, III, note 243.

do know is that a public controversy, which began immediately after the publication of *The Landscape* and the first volume of the *Essay*, had alienated them considerably from each other.⁶²

To us, so much later, there appears to be hardly any important difference between the theories of Knight and Price, and not so very much between the two of them and Repton. All the same, quarrels started directly Repton had read Knight, and Knight had read Price. Repton felt hurt by a footnote to *The Landscape* on a point of no importance.⁶³ He was also and for better reasons wounded in his professional pride by Price's emphasis on the role of the landscape painter as against the gardener in designing improvements. So he answered Knight in the *Sketches and Hints* and published a special letter to Price. Price answered back in the second edition of the *Essay*, and Knight in the second edition of *The Landscape*.

However, the Advertisement to the second edition of *The Landscape* is also an attempt at refuting Price's main tenet: the existence of a specific aesthetic quality in objects, which, different from the Sublime and the Beautiful as analyzed by Burke, could only be covered by the term Picturesque. Knight accepts the quality but rejects the term. He is prepared to regard the difference politely as one "rather in philosophical theory than in poetical taste." This is what he says:

"In morals one may find his principles in fitness and propriety, another in general sympathy, and another in immediate operation of providence, or efficient grace; at the same time that all exactly agree in what is right or wrong. So in taste, one may find his principles on a division of the sublime, picturesque and beautiful; and another, on a certain unison of sympathy and harmony of causes and effects."

Knight then goes on referring to what he calls his "theory of visible beauty," but as he does not expound this theory to the reader, it was easy for Price to reestablish his case, when in 1801 he put it into the form of a dialogue between Mr. Hamilton (=Price), Mr. Howard (=Knight) and Mr. Seymour (=a layman eager to learn). It is a very fair piece of writing exposing the difference as being indeed only one of words. Should "freshness and decay, what is rough, broken and rudely irregular, and what has that symmetry, continuity of parts, and last finishing polish which the artist manifestly intended . . . all . . . be considered as belonging to one general class?"⁶⁴ Price's answer is No, and he thus insists on the necessity of the term Picturesque in addition to Burke's Sublime and Beautiful. Time has indeed proved its eminent usefulness, if not its necessity. Regarding the latter, which would be the logical justification of Price's system, Knight, the more analytical thinker of the two, could not be confuted, once he had gathered his objections into a more coherent form.

This he did in his *Analytical Enquiry into the Principles of Taste* which came out in 1805.⁶⁵ It is much more than an attack on Price, although the difference between their views may have induced Knight to undertake a task not really congenial. He is at his best when he writes on philology and folk-lore, or on the wider aspects of politics. There is little in the *Enquiry* that reads as spontaneous as such politically founded passages against systems and system builders as the following:

"General rules appear to me to be, in government and politics, never safe but where they are useless."⁶⁶ "Precise rules and definitions . . . are merely the playthings or tools of system-builders."⁶⁷ "Rules and systems have exactly the same influence upon taste and manners, as dogmas have upon morals."⁶⁸ "If men once unite to maintain systematically that there are many Gods, one God or no God . . . all the selfish, violent and atrocious passions (come out)."⁶⁹ "The censor Cato, the saint

62. Farington Diary, ed. Greig, III, p. 252, and IV, p. 31.

63. He had said that one way of showing the extent of a man's property could be to place coats-of-arms on inns, milestones, or such-like objects.

64. *The Landscape*, III, 334.

65. Not in 1808 as the *D.N.B.* says.

66. *Analytical Enquiry*, p. 234.

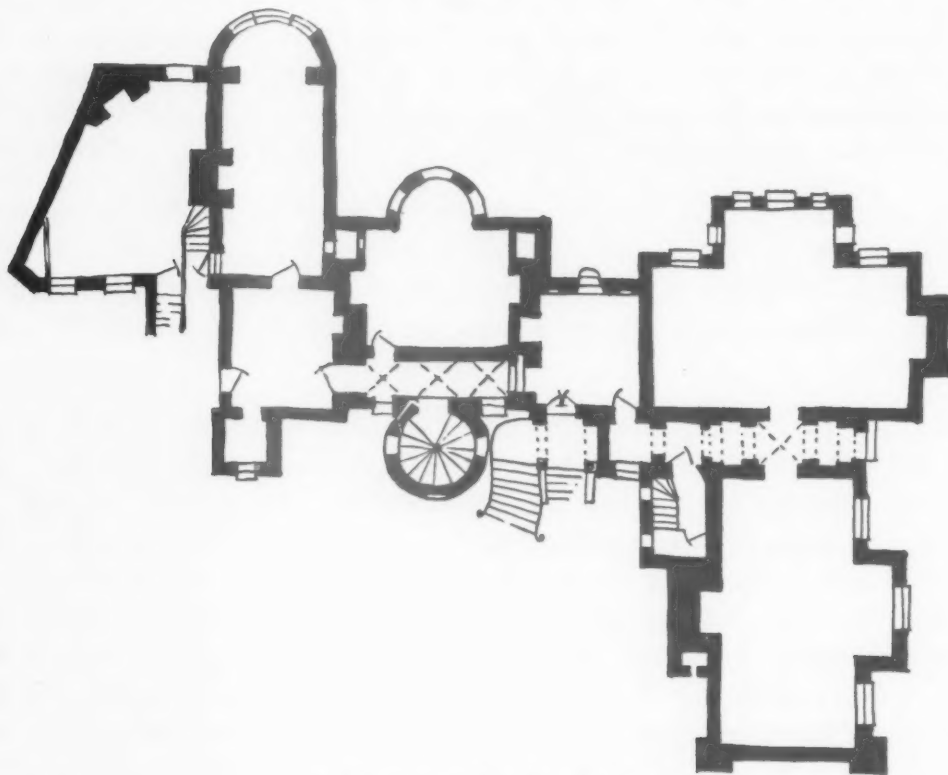
67. *Ibid.*, p. 234.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 238.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 237.

Bernard, and the reformer Calvin, were equally insensible to the blandishments of love, the allurements of pleasure and the vanity of wealth; and so, likewise, were the monsters Marat and Robespierre."⁷⁰

Now Knight did not mean that Uvedale Price was a censor, a saint, or a monster. But he dreaded the reformer in his friend, the single-minded system-builder. Knight's *Enquiry* is not a system, just as his treatises on mythology and mystery are not a system. Knight's approach to aesthetics—as to all other matters—is analytical, Price's synthetical. Without hesitation Knight can put his finger on the weak spot of Price's system. His friend's excellent "practical lessons of taste," he writes, are "grounded . . . upon false principles. . . . The great fundamental error, which prevails



Vanbrugh Castle, Blackheath. Plan

throughout the otherwise able and elegant *Essays on The Picturesque*, is seeking for distinctions in external objects, which only exist in the modes and habits of viewing and considering them."⁷¹

This argument of Knight's against Price is no more than an application of Hume to the new case of the Picturesque. Hume, as quoted by Knight, wrote: "Beauty is no quality in things themselves: It exists merely in the mind which contemplates them, and each mind perceives a different beauty."⁷²

If then the Picturesque cannot be retained as an objective quality, what should the word stand for? Knight takes it in its original sense of "after the manner of painting," or of "appropriate to painting,"⁷³ or more generally "everything of every kind, which may be or has been represented to advantage in painting."⁷⁴ So far these definitions seem superficial and by no means new. But Knight goes on, and in this he is to the best of my knowledge wholly original: "Painting as it imitates only the visible qualities of bodies, separates those qualities from all others."⁷⁵

70. *Ibid.*, p. 236.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 196.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

73. *Ibid.*, pp. 145 and 148.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 69.



FIG. 1. Vanbrugh Castle, Blackheath. South front

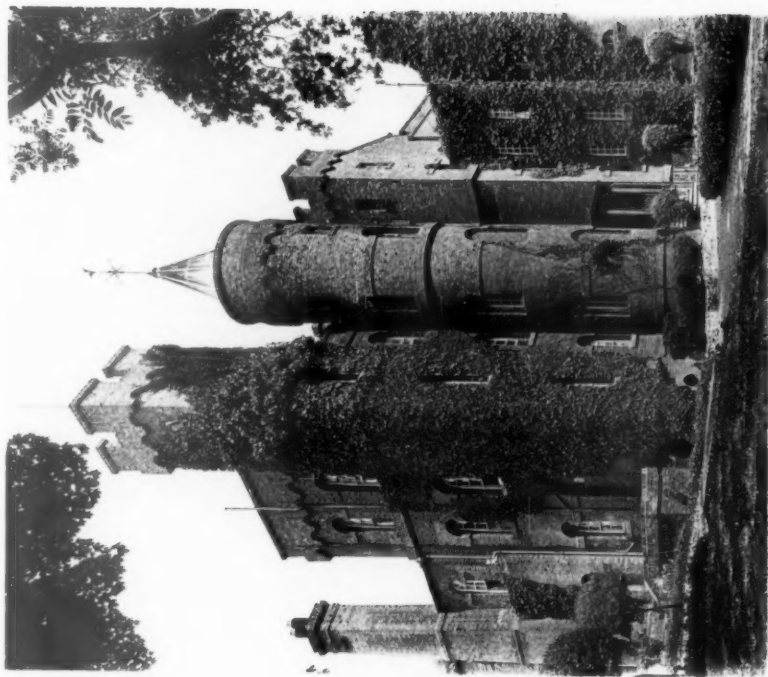


FIG. 2. Vanbrugh Castle, Blackheath. West end



FIG. 3. Downton Castle, near Ludlow. Designed by Richard Payne Knight

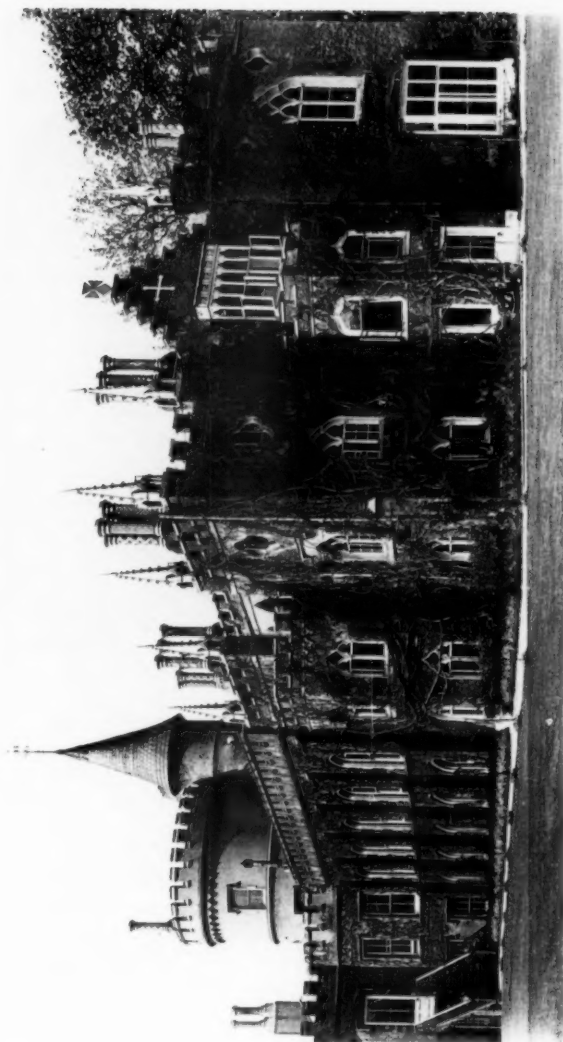


FIG. 4. Strawberry Hill



FIG. 5. Earlom, Mezzotint after drawing by Claude Lorraine, detail.
From the *Liber Veritatis*

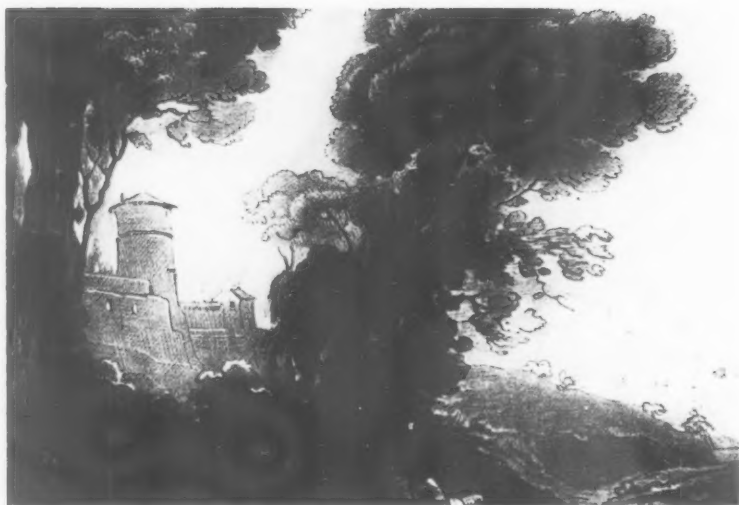


FIG. 6. Earlom, Mezzotint after drawing by Claude Lorraine, detail.
From the *Liber Veritatis*



FIG. 7. Earlom, Mezzotint after drawing by Claude Lorraine, detail.
From the *Liber Veritatis*



FIG. 8. Earlom after Claude Lorraine, *The Enchanted Castle*.
Mezzotint, detail



FIG. 9. Downton Castle. Lithograph drawn by F. Page



FIG. 10. Downton Castle. Engraving by J. Smith, from a drawing
by Thomas Hearne



FIG. 11. Thomas Hearne, Engraving of a country house. From Knight, *The Landscape*



FIG. 12. Thomas Hearne, Engraving of a country house. From Knight, *The Landscape*

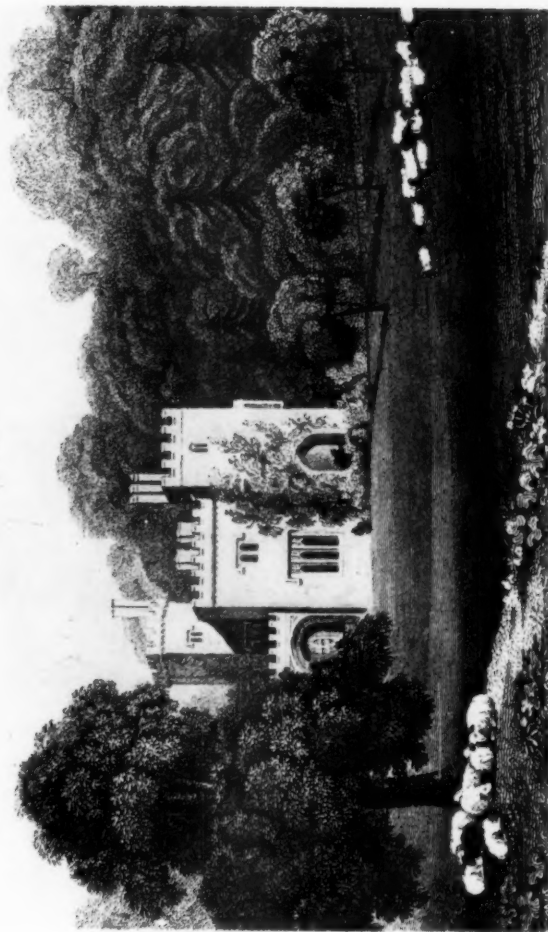


FIG. 13. Luscombe, Devon. Designed by John Nash.
From Neale, *Views of Noblemen's Seats*



FIG. 14. Caerhays, Cornwall. Designed by John Nash.
From Neale, *Views of Noblemen's Seats*



FIG. 15. Lee Priory, Kent. Designed by James Wyatt.
From Neale, *Views of Noblemen's Seats*

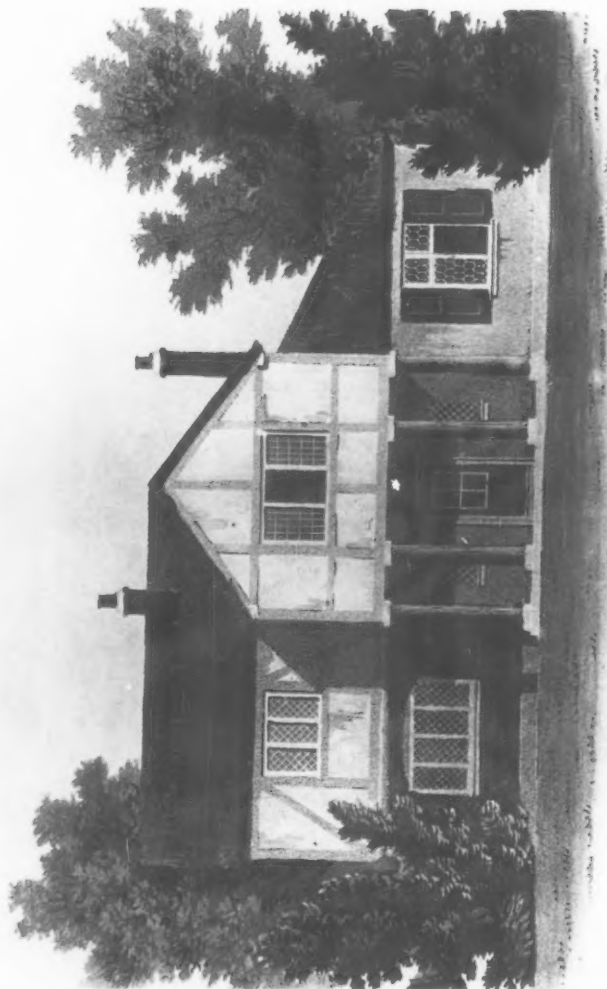


FIG. 16. Illustration from James Malton, *British Cottage Architecture*



FIG. 17. Illustration from James Malton, *Designs for Rural Retreats*

So what is "appropriate to painting" or "in the manner of painting" is what makes us see and appreciate visual qualities in isolation.

Once this is established, Knight goes on to investigate how much or how little of what we accept as beautiful in art and in nature really impresses us by its visual qualities exclusively. He takes up Burke, for instance, for his equation of smooth and beautiful. Smoothness is a quality referring to the touch, not the eye:

"[There are] things which, though smooth to the touch, cast the most sharp, harsh, and angular reflections of light upon the eye. . . . Neat new buildings (for instance), and level lawns intersected by gravel walks marked out in exact lines, or winding canals distinctly bounded by shaven banks, may be properly called smooth, if we mean smoothness to the touch: but to the eye, they present nothing but harsh and discordant oppositions of colour, distinguished by crude and abrupt lines."⁷⁶

Therefore, what Burke describes as visual values are in fact tactile values. We have to be careful not to confuse one with the other. But common confusion goes much further than that. It is not only that in talking of beauty we forget about the distinctions between the various senses, we also neglect the distinctions between what is offered us by the senses and what is added from quite different sources. Strictly speaking the word beauty should only be used for what "is pleasing to the senses."⁷⁷ In point of fact, we also apply it all the time to pleasure which "arises from our associating ideas"⁷⁸ with what we actually see. Let Burke object to such an inaccurate use of the term beauty; for better or worse it is accepted "by idiom" to be applicable "to everything that is pleasing, either to the sense, imagination, or the understanding."⁷⁹ Thus Knight (following, of course, the English tradition of Locke, Berkeley, Hume, and others) divides his book into three parts: Of Sensations, Of Associations of Ideas (subdivided into Of Knowledge, Of Imagination, Of Judgment), and Of Passions.

Only the first part deals with strictly aesthetic perception. The second part is twice as long and twice as original. The third is short and relatively unimportant. Obviously Knight regarded it as his main job to analyze the associative elements in the pleasures of beauty. All through his book he has plenty of examples to clarify his intention.

If, with Price, we accept the visual appeal of what he calls Picturesque, then the beauty of variety, texture, richness of surface, and such-like qualities should give "a pimpled face . . . the same superiority over a smooth one as a variegated tulip [has] over a plain one, or a column of jasper or porphyry over one of common red or white marble."⁸⁰

Again Price, in order to show the picturesque beauty of irregularity had rashly used as an example the charm of a very slight squint. Knight retorts:

"My friend, Mr. Price, indeed, admits squinting among the irregular and picturesque charms of the parson's daughter whom (to illustrate the picturesque in opposition to the beautiful) he wishes to make appear lovely and attractive though without symmetry or beauty. He has not, however, extended the details of this want of symmetry and regularity further than to the features of the face; though to make the figure consistent and complete, the same happy mixture of the irregular and picturesque must have prevailed through her limb and person; and consequently she must have hobbled as well as squinted; and had hips and shoulders as irregular as her teeth, cheeks and eyebrows. All my friend's parental fondness for his system is certainly necessary to make him think such an assemblage of picturesque circumstances either lovely or attractive; or induce him to imagine, that he should be content with such a creature, as a companion for life; and I heartily congratulate him that this fondness did not arise at an earlier period, to obstruct him in a very different choice."⁸¹

76. *Ibid.*, pp. 65, 67.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

78. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 202.

Another example is this: a man may think he admires the heavenly form of "a lovely bosom." But does he really admire its form? Let him take a mould from it and "cast a plum pudding in it (an object by no means disgusting to most men's appetites) and, I think, he will no longer be in raptures with the form."⁸²

Then there is the case of the carcass of an ox in a butcher's shop, a case brought up in Knight's original attack on Price. Why can we admire it in Rembrandt's paintings, but not in reality? Because, to repeat the crucial statement: "painting, as it imitates only the visible qualities of bodies, separates these qualities from all other."

In reality association of ideas deflects our reactions, and makes us feel delight in the nude human form, but disgust with the pimpled face, the limping, toothless woman, and the carcass of an ox. It may be perfectly true that "rotten thatch, crumbling masses of perished brick and plaster, tattered worn-out dirty garments, a fish or a flesh market, all exhibit the most harmonious and brilliant combinations of tints to the eye"; and that "harmonious and brilliant combinations of tints are . . . beautiful in whatsoever they are seen";⁸³ yet the sheer visual beauty of color is not necessarily enough to cause pleasurable sensations, if our knowledge, imagination, judgment, or passion put up a determined resistance.

VII

To sum up, Knight's importance in the history of aesthetic thought rests on the discoveries that art isolates visual qualities, that it is possible to look at objects in this strictly aesthetic way, regardless of subject matter, but that as a rule, in spite of this faculty of the human mind, what moves us in a work of art (or of nature) is not its visual quality in isolation but a compound of aesthetic and associational matter. These discoveries paved the way for the theory of art for art's sake, as Mr. Hussey has rightly observed, and they still form the foundation of most recent discussions on the legitimacy of abstract art.

The *Analytical Enquiry* is thus a piece of brilliant criticism, the work of a logical mind, choosing to apply himself to the subject of aesthetics, because drawn into a controversy over some minor points of practical aesthetics. But it is not, as Price's *Essay* undoubtedly is, the work of a man of immediate aesthetic reactions.⁸⁴

To understand Knight's character this lack of consistency in aesthetic judgment must now in conclusion be documented. To do this two topics have been chosen: Knight's views on painting and on sculpture.

On painting Knight praised on the one hand as "some of the most interesting and affecting pictures that the art has ever produced" West's *Death of General Wolfe*, Westall's *Storm in a Harvest* and Wright's *Soldiers' Tent*,⁸⁵ on the other hand he confessed:

"[I] was never able to participate in . . . the admiration with which the works of Michelangelo have been viewed."⁸⁶ "Though not to be compared even with a third rate artist of Ancient Greece in knowledge of the structure and pathology of the human body, he appears to have known more than any of his contemporaries; and when he made his knowledge subservient to his art, and not his art to his knowledge, he produced some compositions of real excellence. Such are almost all those which he designed for others to execute. . . ."⁸⁷ "There has always appeared to me more of real grandeur and sublimity in Raphael's small picture of the . . . Vision of Ezekiel; and in

82. *Ibid.*, p. 186.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

84. Knight's French biographer, M. Jean-Jacques Mayoux, is of the same opinion. He writes of Knight's "esthétique d'idéologue qui porte la marque de la raideur des derniers représentants du XVIII^e siècle intellectualiste" (p. 120), calls him very aptly a "rationaliste fantaisiste" (p. 72), and ranges him with the last generation of the classicists rather than with the

romantics (p. 119). The book (*R.P.K. et le pittoresque*, Paris, Les Presses Modernes, 1932) was not available to me until I had completed this article. Its chief use lies in its analysis of Knight's *Enquiry*.

85. *Analytical Enquiry*, p. 310.

86. *Ibid.*, p. 300.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 304.

Salvator Rosa's of Saul and the Witch of Endor than in all the vast and turgid compositions of the Sistine Chapel."⁸⁸

Farington tells us that during an argument on the history of painting Knight said he preferred Caracci to all other painters and called Raphael an example of the "infancy of art."⁸⁹ But then Knight enjoyed provocative statements. Where he is at his best is in analyses of the qualities of Rembrandt, Rubens, and the Venetians. Sir Thomas Lawrence said in 1805 that Knight's "pleasure was derived from the luxurious displays of Rubens,"⁹⁰ and if Fuseli praised the "many good observations" in the *Analytical Enquiry*⁹¹ he can only have thought of remarks on such painters. Knight knew indeed the fascination of the sketch⁹² and of summary treatment in painting.⁹³ He even recommended to artists of his day as early as 1794 "to make their designs at home, and put in the light and shade and colouring from nature."⁹⁴ He was no doubt only happy where he could enjoy art in the picturesque way—the term used in his sense, that is, in the purely visual way, concentrating on surface, texture, and color.

Form meant nothing to him aesthetically. "Form," he wrote, "considered in the abstract, is neither grand nor mean; but owes all its power of exciting sentiments . . . to the association of ideas."⁹⁵

Hence his complete failure to appreciate sculpture as such. Sculpture, he repeated in another place can only appeal "to the imagination and the passions"⁹⁶ and never "afford any . . . sensual pleasure to the eye."⁹⁷ Immediate pleasure to the eye, he insists, "can only arise from colour, or variation of light and shadow."⁹⁸ Now light and shadow, at least, one would think anybody considering sculpture critically would have to admit as qualities present in the texture and modeling of works in bronze as well as stone. But that Knight, logical and analytical as he appeared in everything else, could not or would not do. Statuary—this seems the only possible answer—must have left him completely cold. Therefore, and only therefore, could he tackle it so fearlessly from a new psychological and anthropological angle. But therefore also was he forced to blunder so badly over the Elgin Marbles. So his failures and his successes, his perspicacity and his blindness appear in the end as part of one fairly consistent character.

APPENDIX I

ASYMMETRICAL ARCHITECTURE AFTER DOWNTON CASTLE

Since no attempt at recording the early history of asymmetrical architecture is known to me I venture to attempt one here. Vanbrugh Castle, Strawberry Hill, and Downton have been discussed in the text. They were, to repeat it, utterly out of the ordinary in their deliberate irregularity. John Ivory Talbot, for instance,

88. *Ibid.*, p. 302. Incidentally, Samuel Palmer in his Shoreham days was as infuriated by these sentences as Haydon was by Knight's Elgin evidence. The first of the two passages quoted left him speechless. He only scribbled into the margins: "He produced some compositions of real excellence!! Michelangelo produced some compositions of real excellence !!!!!" On the second passage he is more explicit: "Those artists who are so base that they do not attempt grandeur of form and yet lyingly pretend to grand effect are now called modest; but those who, as William Blake, do attempt and achieve both, will, with time, by blind cunning and stupid wilfulness be set down impudent madmen: for our taste is Dutch; Rembrandt is our Da Vinci, and Rubens our Michelangelo! This is not an oversounding of the depth of our degradation" (A. H. Palmer, *The Life and Letters of Samuel Palmer*, 1892, pp. 35

for whom Sanderson Miller gothicized Lacock Abbey in 1753,⁹⁹ had his hall façade made completely symmetrical, although he wrote to Miller that "the Beauty of Gothick Architecture . . . consists, like that of a Pindarick Ode, in the Boldness and Irregularity of its Members."¹⁰⁰ And most embattled late eighteenth century country houses exhibit the same care for symmetry.

The first strongly to express his sympathy with the irregular in architecture is curiously enough Reynolds,

and 36). Geoffrey Grigson drew my attention to this passage.

89. Farington Diary, v, p. 14.

90. *Ibid.*, III, p. 99.

91. *Ibid.*, III, p. 91.

92. *Analytical Enquiry*, p. 103.

93. *Ibid.*, p. 149.

94. *The Landscape*, note to II, 105.

95. *Analytical Enquiry*, p. 304.

96. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

98. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

99. See *An Eighteenth Century Correspondence*, ed. L. Dickens and M. Stanton, 1910, pp. 301, etc.

100. *Ibid.*, p. 303.

who in this Thirteenth Discourse, the one in which he also found such warm words of praise for Vanbrugh, said that buildings, as they "depart from regularity, now and then acquire something of scenery . . . which I should think might not unsuccessfully be adopted by an Architect, in an original plan, if it does not too much interfere with convenience."¹⁰¹

This passage is the first after Walpole to prove appreciation of asymmetry in architecture. Uvedale Price is disappointing after Reynolds. The first volume of his *Essays on the Picturesque* contains nothing on irregular architecture. And in the *Essay on Buildings in Conjunction with Scenery* in volume two of 1798 the emphasis is, as its title implies, on how surroundings can make a house picturesque and not on how it might be designed to be picturesque. As for architecture proper, Price says explicitly that "the beauty of a building, considered separately (i.e. disregarding surrounding trees and so on), depends on symmetry and design,"¹⁰² and again that "architecture, though like other arts, it studies variety, yet it must, in general, consider variety in subjection to symmetry, especially in buildings on a large scale."¹⁰³ This symmetry Price extends even to details and states for instance that chimneys "if they are grouped together irregularly for the sake of picturesque effect . . . offend against the symmetry which is required in architecture."¹⁰⁴

So evidently to Price a building can only become picturesque by vegetation (or decay, which is however outside my subject here), but cannot be picturesque by the architect's conscious efforts. And if he admits the existence of picturesque buildings, notably old castles, he attributes that quality to accidental accretions, and in only one place tries the next step and says that "a number of common houses become picturesque . . . because they are built of various heights, in various directions, and because those variations are sudden and irregular." But, once again, he nowhere suggests that such irregularity might be planned as an architectural effect.

So he takes us much less far than Knight did in practice at Downton in 1775 and in theory in the *Enquiry* in 1805. Repton, the third of the three authors of 1794 on the Picturesque, on the other hand was probably of decisive importance for the development of picturesque architecture around 1800, that is, the years of his collaboration with John Nash. In his *Sketches and Hints* of 1794 we find this sentence: "An exact symmetry, so far from being necessary, is rather to be avoided in a Gothic [that is, now a Neo-Gothic] building."¹⁰⁵ He amplified this statement in his later books¹⁰⁶ and translated it into reality in such designs as those by Nash for Luscombe in Devon. Here he recommended in 1799 in

the Red Book to make the house "a castle . . . with bold irregularity of outline . . . and . . . its roof enriched by turrets, battlements, corbels, and lofty chimneys."¹⁰⁷

Luscombe (Fig. 13) is only one of several early Nash houses designed asymmetrically. Others are Kilby Moore (1803), Childwall (ca. 1806), Caerhays in Cornwall (1808) (Fig. 14). They are all Gothic, but Cronkhill (1802) is a completely solitary example of picturesque Italianate villa design. James Wyatt's Fonthill was designed for Beckford in 1795; Ashridge comes later and is no doubt the most spectacular surviving example of picturesque mediaevalizing asymmetry before Pugin and Barry. But Lee Priory in Kent (Fig. 15) was early enough in Wyatt's career still to be seen and praised by Walpole himself. Wyatt had begun it in 1782, and Walpole in 1794 called it "a child of Strawberry, prettier than the parent."¹⁰⁸

But by 1800, and indeed even by 1816, these were still exceptional. For in 1816 Repton could still write: "Although many attempts have recently been made to produce modern Gothic castles, yet, the great principle on which the picturesque effect of all Gothic edifices must depend, has too generally been overlooked, viz. irregularity of outline."¹⁰⁹

The final change came only with the Victorian Age, that is, the first years of Queen Victoria.¹¹⁰

The Houses of Parliament, symmetrical in their façade, but completely irregular in skyline, mark the transition. This is what A. Barry wrote of them in *The Life and Works of Sir Charles Barry*.¹¹¹ "The place and style being fixed, the composition of the design used suggested the question, whether there was anything in the Gothic style which ought to interfere with the principles of symmetry, regularity and unity, so dear to his [Barry's] artistic taste. Many, and his friend Payne especially, contended for irregularity, picturesqueness and variety. They would have had . . . a building, in which there should be a general unity of style, rather than an actual symmetry of design, which they stigmatized as 'clothing a classical design with Gothic details.' But Mr. Barry . . . conceived that, if certain first principles were true, they could not vary in different styles. He believed that symmetry and regularity were essential to unity and grandeur, and on this conviction he acted throughout." But although A. Barry emphasizes this point he also says a little later that the picturesque skyline was intended "from the very beginning of the design."¹¹²

Thus Barry tried to have it both ways. Pugin, his collaborator, never wavered, as his domestic designs show. And when in 1858 George Gilbert Scott, deeply impressed by Pugin, wrote his *Remarks on Secular and*

101. *Discourses*, ed. 1809, vol. II, p. 139.

102. *Essay*, ed. Dick Louder, 1842, p. 360.

103. *Ibid.*, p. 367.

104. *Ibid.*, pp. 350-351.

105. *Sketches and Hints*, ed. Loudon, 1840, p. 59.

106. For instance ". . . the spruce affectation of symmetry so fatal to the Gothic character" (*Theory and Practice*, 1803, ed. Loudon, p. 281).

107. Quoted by John Summerson, *John Nash*, 1935, p. 65.

108. Letter of September 28, 1794, ed. Cunningham, IX, p. 442.

109. *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*, ed. Loudon, p. 427.

110. It is characteristic in this connection that Sir Thomas Dick Louder editing Price's *Essays* in 1842, pronounces his own "decided predilection for irregularly built houses in the country" (p. 368).

111. 1867, p. 241.

112. *Ibid.*, p. 263.

Domestic Architecture, Present and Future, this is what he said:

"The fact that in most of our streets, as Cheapside, the Strand, Oxford Street, etc., each man has built his house as he liked . . . is the one thing which redeems them from that abject insipidity which we see paramount in Gower or Harley Street; and if every one of these vertical divisions had a beautiful design of its own, differing in height, in outline, and in treatment, and terminating in a good skyline, our streets would at once become as picturesque and pleasing as those of the great mediaeval cities . . . [But] when a street is newly erected, and not by distinct individuals, it would be unreasonable to follow out to its fullest extent the principle of individualizing the houses. A certain degree of uniformity will . . . be inevitable. . . . In such cases the houses must be grouped into masses. . . . I would in no case, however, make too many houses together alike—it is in every way undesirable. . . . I think a more accidental arrangement is better—a few houses of one scale and a few of another, some higher than others—a group of gabled fronts, and another with parapets and dormers, or parapets alone, with some little touch of system."¹¹³

Here at last, a hundred and forty years after Vanbrugh Castle, the picturesque principles of variety, intricacy, and surprise had become assimilated.

Finally, if an appendix to this appendix may be permitted, a few words on the parallel development of cottage and villa design. Here the *incunabula* are Sanderson Miller's cottage on Edgehill¹¹⁴ and Walpole's "Cottage in the Woods" at Strawberry. The numerous books of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries on rural residences and rustic cottages only very rarely break the traditional symmetry of design. There is no irregularity in the books by Robert Morris (1750), Lightoler (1762), Counden (1767), Halfpenny (1774), Wood of Bath (1782), Soane (1788 and 1793), Middleton (1793), Plaw (1800), Laing (1800), Elsam (1803), J. Miller (1805), Busby of Brighton (1808).

On the other hand Uvedale Price in the second volume of his *Essay*, that is, in 1798, said: "An obvious and easy method of rebuilding a village (and one which unfortunately has been put in practice) is to place the houses on two parallel lines, to make them of the same size and shape, and at equal distances from each other. Such a methodical arrangement saves all further thought and invention; but it is hardly necessary to say that nothing can be more formal and insipid. . . . Symmetry, which in cities, and generally in all the higher styles of architecture, produces such grand effects, is less suited to humble scenes and buildings."¹¹⁵

And thus a few designers, instead of the current cottages of the Milton Abbas or Harewood type, introduced now at last into their pattern-books picturesque cottages and country villas of irregular appearance. Among the earliest examples are James Malton's *Essay on British Cottage Architecture* (1798; Fig. 16) and

Collection of Designs for Rural Retreats (1802; Fig. 17), W. Atkinson's *Views of Picturesque Cottages* (1805) and W. F. Pocock's *Architectural Designs for Rustic Cottages* (1807).

APPENDIX II

Passages from Richard Payne Knight's *Sicilian Diary* translated back into English by Brian Miller from Goethe's German translation.

DEPARTURE

Having taken our leave of Rome on the 3rd day of April, 1777, we set sail from Naples on the 12th in a twelve-oared felucca, purposing to continue our journey through Sicily, visiting on our way Pæstum and the Lipari islands. No sooner has the traveller left the harbour of Naples than the most superlative prospect presents itself on every side. The town rises gradually from the shore, whilst nearby the mountain mass of Vesuvius pours forth its smoke; Sorrento, Capri, Ischia and Procida engage the eye as far as Cape Misene and comprise an amphitheatre embellished with palaces, gardens, woodlands and ruins, a collection of objects the like of which was never seen. We enjoyed this panorama in its greatest perfection, the weather being exceedingly fine and the spring at its height. The endless multiplicity of colours and shades was blended and harmonized by that same pearly tone which imparts such distinction to the paintings of Claude Lorraine and is quite peculiar to this delectable climate. The bay of Naples extends for some twenty miles as far as Capri, and in proportion as we approached the open sea, so colours and forms appeared to merge into the atmosphere, becoming gradually less distinct, until finally the sun withdrew its rays and abandoned everything to darkness. During the night we slept in the felucca and arrived before sunrise at a small village known as Agropoli, five miles distant from Pæstum. Thence we set out without delay on horseback in order to inspect these venerable monuments.

PÆSTUM. APRIL 13

The first view of these remains is arresting in the extreme. Three temples, in a fair state of preservation, stand one behind another in the midst of a rich and beautiful valley, surrounded by romantic hills clothed in flowering shrubs and evergreen oaks. One of these is the Mons Alburnus, and is still overgrown with those trees of which Virgil makes mention in the third book of the *Georgics*:

*Est lucos Silari circa ilicibusque virentem
Plurimus Alburnum volitans (cui nomen Asilo
Romanum est: æstron Graji vertere vocantes).*

The architecture of Pæstum is ancient Doric, the columns short and cannelated, with broad, shallow capitals and without pedestals. They are fashioned of a variety of porous stone similar to that of Lago del

quoted above.

^{115.} *Essay*, ed. D. Louder, p. 400.

^{113.} *Ibid.*, pp. 174-176.

^{114.} Illustrated in *An Eighteenth Century Correspondence*

Tartaro near Tivoli (Travertin). I am persuaded that the columns were cannellated and finished after their erection, for we encountered temples in Sicily in which some pillars were cannellated and others not. The blocks are excellently cut and assembled with the utmost precision, and, furthermore, in the way common to the most outstanding monuments of antiquity, without the employment of mortar. The colour is a whitish yellow, which merges here and there into shades of greyish blue. The weather has attacked the stone, which is overgrown with moss and weeds, and neither blackened by smoke, nor rendered hideous by recent additions, as is the wont of the ruins at Rome. Thus it is that the tints affect the eye in a fashion at once harmonious, pleasing and picturesque.

Regarded close at hand, the various portions of these temples appear rough, ponderous and heavy; yet, seen from an appropriate distance, the uniform effect is mighty, simple and even delicate. The roughness then assumes the appearance of wilful negligence, and the ponderousness is transformed into a solidity at once righteous and noble.

The precise period of the rise and decline of Pæstum is not known, though both may well have occurred quite early. The remains of this town are beholden for their preservation to the foulness of the atmosphere; for had the site been habitable, they had suffered the fate which befell the generality of Greek and Roman monuments; to wit, they had been demolished and their materials applied to the construction of fresh buildings. This pestilential atmosphere is engendered by a brackish stream, which flows down from the mountains and stagnates behind the walls, where its coagulation produces the variety of stone of which the town was constructed. This petrification occurs with such signal rapidity as to give rise to the belief that the builders employed certain moulds, wherein the columns were produced by a process of incrustation, seeing that these latter contain reeds and sedge fossilized by the action of the water; I believe, however, that there is no basis whatever for this assumption.

The town was square, as may be deduced from the walls, which appear to have stood in former times on the sea shore, notwithstanding the fact that owing to the petrifying action of the stream, they are now 500 yards distant. The new ground is readily distinguishable from the old, for it consists throughout either of petrified matter or of marshland, whilst the old ground, situated within the walls or between them and the hills, appears dry and fertile, and not unworthy of the rose gardens of Pæstum, of which the Latin poets so readily sing.

PORTO PALINURO. APRIL 15

After a day spent amidst these relics of Greek taste and splendour, we returned to our felucca and sailed during the night along Cape Palinuro, which still retains the name of the steersman of Æneas, who, as Virgil informs us, met his death here. However, seeing that a contrary wind had arisen, we were obliged to seek asylum in a small harbour of the same name, pro-

tected on the south by the promontory and on the north by the land. The surrounding district is superlatively beautiful, the valleys being rich and fertile, the hills decked with evergreen oaks, olives and flowering shrubs, between which extend areas of pasture. In the distance there stretches the spacious chain of the snow-capped Apennines, which bound the prospect in their imposing grandeur. Owing to the bad weather and the cowardice of the Neapolitan sailors, we were delayed eight days in this tiny harbour, and regretted bitterly our having left Pæstum, where we might have spent the time so agreeably amidst the ruins. However, in order to put it to as profitable a use as possible, we explored along the coast, dragging our felucca on to dry land and transforming it, as far as circumstances would allow, into a dwelling. A cave served us as a kitchen, and had it not been for our impatience to arrive in Sicily, we might have passed the time agreeably enough, *nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis*.

STROMBOLI. APRIL 23

We left Porto Palinuro at 2 o'clock on the night of the 22nd, but the weather being exceedingly calm, it was the evening of the following day before we reached Stromboli. We were still thirty miles distant, when there appeared the snow-capped peak of Etna down which the steam rolled. Notwithstanding their situation above the horizon, the lower reaches of the mountain subsequently disappeared from view, by reason of the density of the inferior atmosphere. I was informed that the mountain might frequently be seen from the promontory of Palinuro, which, however, was not the case during our stay, the air never attaining sufficient clarity.

The island of Stromboli is a conical mountain, rising from the sea and composed entirely of volcanic matter. The smoke issues at present near the summit on the northwesterly slope, composed of loose, infertile ash. The remaining area of the mountain is richly cultivated and planted with vines which are highly prized. Fire might be seen issuing from the crater by night, but in insignificant quantities, since the weather was particularly fine. When it is raining or when southerly winds prevail, a minor eruption habitually occurs; the noise, however, continues the whole time without intermission, very loud and thunderous. We should very much have liked to ascend the mountain and investigate the crater, but an edict by the King of Naples, forbidding under pain of quarantine in the remaining royal dominions any intercourse whatsoever with the inhabitants prevented us from doing so. As this was, after all, a formality which we felt no desire to observe, we set sail the same night for Lipari, where we arrived early on the morrow.

LIPARI. APRIL 24

The town is situated on the shore of a narrow bay, on a volcanic rock which projects into the sea and whose beautiful contours are draped with clusters of bushes. Regarded from some distance, the town appears very pleasing and picturesque, encircled by a small plain covered in dwellings and gardens, whence rises a short

distance away a range of mountains, formerly volcanic, but now transformed into rich vineyards where sparse fig and mulberry trees are to be seen. The houses are all whitewashed, with completely flat roofs, and, rising one behind another, form many a picturesque group; on entering the town, however, the prospect is transformed and all is filth and wretchedness.

Whilst my companions were sketching, I scaled the loftiest peak of the island. After ascending for wellnigh an hour through the vineyards, I came to arid, scorched rocks up which I clambered with toil and difficulty, expecting to encounter nothing but desolate destruction; so much the greater was my astonishment, therefore, when, on attaining the summit, I perceived immediately below me, between vertical rocks, a beautiful natural amphitheatre of some 300 yards in diameter, its bottom planted with vines and embellished here and there with an isolated dwelling-house. This was the erstwhile crater of the volcano, and as the whole is surrounded with porous rocks, the ground remains dry and fertile, despite the fact that the water has no visible outlet.

From the most elevated point of these rocks the traveller may perceive the whole of the Lipari islands, besides the coasts of Sicily and Calabria. Immediately below the spectator lies the island of Volcano, an infertile heap of ashes, which scarce produces so much as moss. Thus it seems that this island came into being later than the others which are composed of the same material, since in their case the action of time has matured the ashes and lava, transforming them into ground which, dry though it be, is none the less fertile and particularly adapted to the cultivation of the vine.

PALERMO. MAY I

The situation of Palermo is very beautiful, in a narrow but fertile valley, surrounded by steep mountains. The streets are regular and clean, and the place for the most part prosperous and well populated; the architecture, however, is extraordinarily bad. The taste of Prince Palagonia seems to reign supreme in the entire town. During the short duration of our stay there, we found the inhabitants extraordinarily courteous; they did not assume that awkward grandeur which the nobility of Rome and Naples are wont to affect; on the contrary, they appeared to devote more thought to the veritable joys of life. Here the stranger is sure to encounter an attentive courtesy, and moreover after the most pleasing fashion. For the manners of the inhabitants are accommodating and courteous. They have their *conversazzioni* or assemblées no less than the rest of the Italians, but much more agreeable, in so far as the women are not all coupled with a *cavaliere servente*. Just such a company assembles in the palace of the Vice-Regent every evening except Thursday and Friday, when only the most intimate acquaintances are received. Before visiting the assemblées they drive up and down the quay, like the Romans on the Corso. In summer the entire evening is passed in this way. Music, refreshments, etc., are provided. The ladies have adopted of late an altogether singular custom, to wit, that all torches should be extinguished before the carriages ar-

rive in front of the town, in order, as it would seem, to obviate any untoward discoveries. Should the men here be so whimsical as to expect the strictest fidelity from their wives, they must surely often delude themselves, for the blood of the fair Sicilians is too hot for them to resist an opportunity which is never lacking. The generality of the women are lively and agreeable, but for the most part deficient in those very refinements by reason of which English-women are so attractive. They marry very young, and those who have no call to expose themselves to the ardent rays of the sun are beautiful enough. Their manners are not inordinately fine, but easy and natural and not corrupted by that stupid imitation of the French, through which Italians of rank render themselves so ludicrous and from which, indeed, our own countrymen are not altogether free.

During May they hold a fair in the Piazza del Domo, which affords a strange spectacle. The square is illuminated and surrounded with stalls, wherein playthings and other trifles are offered for sale. In the center there is a lottery. The market opens at sundown and continues until midnight. The whole town assembles here and the completest equality prevails. Princes and artisans, princesses and haberdashers stand on the same footing and mix without distinction in the press. One may well imagine that such an admirable occasion for every sort of enjoyment would not be allowed to pass unheeded amongst so lively a people as the Sicilians.

There are not many objects of note in Palermo. The harbour, to the west of the town, contains nothing of importance. Immediately adjacent is Eryx, now known as Monte Pellegrino, and celebrated on account of its church of Santa Rosalia, patron saint of Palermo. The reputed body of the aforesaid saint was discovered in a cave below the summit, where the church now stands.

In the college, which belonged formerly to the Jesuits, there is a good collection of Etruscan pottery, a number of fossils, a good bust of Plato and one of Tiberius. The engraved stones and coins of which there is said to have been an imposing collection here, were removed by the Fathers before their dissolution.

The palace of the Vice-Regent is an ancient, irregular edifice, constructed at various times. The chapel seems to have been built under the Byzantine emperors, in so far as it is overlaid, both internally and externally, with barbarous mosaic, like those churches at Rome which date from the time of these princes. In the gallery are the likenesses of all the Kings of Sicily from the time of Roger I of the Norman line. The traveller may also find in the very same place two bronze rams, depicted in a recumbent position, introduced from Syracuse; these are something above lifesize and superlatively executed. It is a matter for perpetual wonderment what an air of dignity and nobility the artist has imparted to so lowly a creature, without deviating from a scrupulous imitation of nature. They are executed with that bold mastery peculiar to the best periods of Greece. There is charm and delicacy in the very curve of the horns, and the wool, apparently unkempt, possesses all the softness and lightness of nature. On the whole, these bronzes may be considered equal to the

best works of art that I have seen in Rome, Portici or Florence, and accounted amongst the few genuine works which survive from the hand of the Greek artists. They have both the same posture, only turned in opposite directions, and yet one is much more excellent than the other. Fazello asserts that Georgius Maniaces, a general of the Emperor Constantine Monomachus, erected them above the gates of the fortress of Ortygia, and that they are assumed to have come from Constantinople, but I should consider it more likely that they are to be regarded as survivals of the antique taste of Syracuse and of the glory of this renowned city.

MONTREALE. MAY 5

We left Palermo to go to Alcamo, which is some thirty miles distant. The road was constructed very sumptuously as far as Montreale at the expense of the late Archbishop, who expended his immense revenues in a fashion as widely extolled as it is little imitated by his confrères. For, instead of exhibiting them in ostentatious display or of accumulating them for the benefit of undeserving relatives, living with the frugality of a hermit, he applied his wealth to acts of genuine beneficence, not by encouraging idleness and mendicity, but by providing employment for the industrious poor and by producing works conducive to public adornment and utility.

The town of Montreale is small, but built on a beautiful rock dominating the valley and the town of Palermo. The town church seems to date from the time of the Byzantine emperors, for it is likewise embellished with the same barbarous mosaic. Within are a number of splendid porphyry columns, finished in a semi-gothic style, and a splendid sarcophagus of the same stone. The latter contains the body of William I, King of Sicily. This porphyry is in every respect equal in quality to that which the traveller finds in Rome and appears to prove that the Romans obtained a large proportion of what they used from Sicily, even if it be generally assumed that it all came from Africa. However, the form and execution of these pillars demonstrate that they were fashioned after the Saracens had captured this part of the Roman Empire, and the death of King William falls about 1100, in an age so barbarous that all foreign trading connections had come to an end.

GIRGENTI

Thence we came to Girgenti, where the Franciscans welcomed us with great hospitality. This town is situated very high up on the slope of a hill, where the castle of Agrigento once stood. This hill commands a fine view to the north-west of the spot where that celebrated town was situated and which is now planted with olive trees and other vegetation and adorned with ruins, which may be found here in greater profusion and in better preservation than any in the whole of Sicily. There are remains of fourteen temples, all of the ancient Doric order, besides a large number of burial places and granaries hewn out of the rock face. The first, commencing from the east, is the temple of Juno Lucina, of which the foundations, a small section of the cell

and approximately one-half of the colonnade are extant. The pillars are approximately 4 ft. 3 in. in diameter at the ground and approximately 3 ft. 5 in. at their thinnest end, tapering regularly like those of Selinus. The pediment appears to be quite the same as in other temples of this order, yet it is here so mutilated as to preclude any accuracy of measurement. The stones of Girgenti are nothing more than a light, sandy petrifaction, which speedily decomposes on exposure to the weather; thus the finer details may no longer be distinguished on any of these buildings. The present appearance of the temple of Juno is as picturesque as the traveller could desire. It is situated on a small hill, now decked in trees, between which the shattered columns and other remains lie broadcast; for so poor is the material that no one considered it worth the labour of removal.

Next comes the temple of Concordia, having the same ground plan and elevation and differing only in a few insignificant ornaments. Part of the cell has been converted into a church, and all the pillars together with the major part of the pediment are still erect, though considerably eroded by time and weather.

The temple of Hercules, which now comes into view, is considerably larger than the preceding ones, but of well-nigh identical type and proportions. Only a single pillar is erect; the remainder are all lying on the spot where they fell. Their diameter was approximately 6 ft. 6 in. and their height five times their diameter. The pediment was so irreparably damaged as to be no longer recognizable. In this temple stood the celebrated statue of Hercules, which Verres desired to remove but was prevented by the valour and enterprise of the people of Agrigento. A little farther on stood the much-esteemed temple of Jupiter Olympius, described by Diodorus Siculus. Now there are but a few remains of it to be seen, sufficient, however, to demonstrate its prodigious size, in which it exceeded even those of Selinus, inferior though it might be to them in the beauty of its design and the brilliancy of its execution. It had eight half-pillars at the front and seventeen on each side. These were 10 ft. 2 in. in diameter below the capital; I was unable to ascertain their measurements near the ground, for the shafts, which were composed, like those of the façade of St. Peter's at Rome, of separate blocks, have quite disintegrated through the effects of the weather. The overall measurements of the temple, as Diodorus cites them, were 300 ft. in length, 120 ft. in height and 60 ft. in breadth. As far as the first two are concerned, he appears to be exact enough, but in the matter of breadth he has succumbed to an error of precisely 100 ft., as may be perceived quite distinctly from a study of the foundations. In the angle of the easterly aspect was the battle of the Giants, in the westerly the capture of Troy, both of them of superlative sculpture, such as one of the wealthiest and most glorious of Greek cities might produce at a time when the arts stood on the highest peak of perfection. This temple, in common with many another building of the Greeks, was never completed. Their audacious spirit was ever directed towards the sublime, but they

did not always command the perseverance which might contribute to realise their gigantic projects. Besides, they were divided into a multitude of small states, and thus impelled to such enterprises by mutual jealousy and emulation. They would have been fortunate indeed had they never desired to give one another proof of their ascendancy, and had they not engaged in wars which compelled the vanquished to appeal for assistance to foreign peoples, who in a short time reduced indifferently friend and foe to a like servitude.

A large proportion of the temple in question was still standing until the year 1494, when it suddenly collapsed without any visible cause whatsoever.

There are two mutilated pillars left of the temple of Vulcan, together with the foundations of the building, from which it is apparent that it was entirely similar to those of Juno Lucina and Concordia. Thus there are still two half-pillars and a portion of the wall remaining of the temple of Æsculapius without the town. There was to be found the celebrated statue of Apollo, of which Cicero makes mention. Of the remaining temples there is scarce anything surviving beyond the foundations. I have called the ones described above by the names by which they are designated to-day, for only those of the temples of Jupiter, Vulcan and Æsculapius are genuine and indubitable, the others are called thus solely on the faith of highly unreliable witnesses.

Between the old town and the river Hypsia is a small pyramidal building known as the tomb of Hiero. It stands on a pedestal and has at each corner an Ionian cannelated column, but the pediment is Doric. Should the enquirer be curious to know whether this building was erected before or after the supreme period of architecture in Sicily, I incline to the latter opinion. For it is far too delicate and dainty to belong to the time of Hiero. In addition, there are a few other ruins of the Roman period, notably a rich Corinthian pediment of white marble, which, having been excavated, now does duty as a cistern. It seems to have formed part of a round edifice of unusual splendour.

The city walls seem to have been erected over a radius of more or less ten miles; in some places they are hewn out of the rock and full of niches in which were deposited the ashes of the dead. I have nowhere encountered this method of burial, and if obliged to account for it, I can only assume that it was an honourable distinction conferred on those who died for the fatherland. It may be, too, that they thought to summon the departed to the defence of the fatherland.

The common sewers are still visible in many places and appear to have been installed at considerable cost and labour, being hewn out of the solid rock and broad and high enough for a person to walk through them with ease. In addition, there are a number of square holes excavated between the old and the new town and covered with flat stones, in all likelihood burial places for slaves and poor citizens.

Agrigento was once, after Syracuse, the greatest town in Sicily, and its population is computed at 20,000. However, to judge by the space enclosed within the walls, this calculation seems far too slight. Probably it

does not include the slaves whose numbers amounted, in the republics of antiquity, to at least double those of the freemen. The people of Agrigento were renowned for their luxury, elegance, splendour and hospitality, wherefore Empedocles said of them: that they ate and drank as if they would die on the morrow, and built as if they thought to live for eternity. But luxury and refinement brought about their downfall, for some 400 years before the Christian era the city was besieged and taken by Himilcon, who removed all their superb adornments and transported them to Carthage. It is true the city subsequently regained her liberty, but never her erstwhile splendour. In the second Punic War it was taken by the Romans and harshly treated because it had supported the Carthaginians. After the destruction of Carthage, Scipio restored to the people of Agrigento all their adornments that Himilcon had removed. Among them was the celebrated bronze bull of the tyrant Phalaris, executed by Perillus. Scipio's conduct in this matter was very politic, in so far as this work of art stood as a memorial to the Sicilians at once of the cruelty of their own princes, of the rapacity of the Carthaginians and of the moderation of the Romans. This moderation, however, was short-lived, for no sooner was Carthage destroyed and Rome delivered from the fear of rivalry than the whole Empire was plundered by her consuls and prætors.

Diodorus speaks of Agrigento as already in decline in his time, and it presumably continued to decline up to the time of Queen Constantia when the new town of Girgento emerged from the ruins. Now it contains upwards of 12,000 inhabitants who carry on a considerable trade in corn. The private dwellings are without exception wretched and ill-constructed; the whole wealth of the district belonging to the church. The Archbishop alone has an annual revenue of £20,000, which is a perpetual loss to the district, for he never lives here. His palace is large but built in very bad taste. It contains a splendid library, equipped with numerous works on antiquities and theology but with few in other departments. There is also a numismatic collection which contains good Sicilian and Punic specimens.

We found the inhabitants of Girgento very courteous and serviceable. They are exceedingly proud of the reputation for hospitality and friendliness towards strangers to which their predecessors attained and which they strive to imitate as far as the difference of circumstances will permit; however, estimable and praiseworthy as their intentions may be, they cause the stranger more discomfort than they afford him veritable assistance. For attention and courtesy become tedious and burdensome when those who manifest them possess neither the wit to entertain nor the knowledge to instruct us. And this is only too much the case with the people of Girgento, no less than with the rest of the Sicilians. The inherent vivacity of their nature renders them restless and curious, so that, being altogether devoid of breeding, they become vulgar and importunate. In fact one feels embarrassed to have to decline courtesies which are proffered with every intention of affording pleasure, whilst it is none the less

intolerable to squander one's time either in replying to trivial enquiries or in attending to insignificant observations.

The soil of Girgento is fertile in corn and olive trees, but all Sicilian oil is extremely bad by reason of its inadequate preparation. Excellent horses are also reared there, wherefore the town was once also renowned.

*Arduus inde Acragas ostentat maxima longe
Moenia; magnanimum quondam generator equorum.*

SYRACUSE. MAY 20

Now we reached the town of Syracuse formerly so celebrated but now restricted to the island of Ortygia which, at the time of its prosperity, was the smallest of its four divisions, and even here a large part of the ground given over to fortifications, which are powerful and extensive, and indeed, considering that they belong to the King of Naples, in an excellent state of repair. We went forthwith to visit the spring of Arethusa, which yet wells forth copiously, notwithstanding the petition of Virgil (Eclog. X. 4).

*Sic tibi, cum fluctus subterlabere Sicanos,
Doris amara suam non intermisceat undam,*

has not been granted, for since the earthquake of 1693 it has stagnated and serves only as a washing-place. This we found frequented by nymphs somewhat different from those described by Theocritus and Virgil; they were, indeed, nothing but a collection of the dirtiest old washer-women I have ever seen.

The cathedral church is an old Doric temple. It is believed, without sufficient warrant, to be that temple of Minerva once so renowned for its wealth and splendour. It is still tolerably well-preserved, but so overlaid and disfigured with modern ornaments that its antique form is altogether lost. Of the theatre and amphitheatre nothing has survived but a few insignificant foundations and seats hewn out of the rocks.

Not far from the theatre there are still the Latomiæ of Epipolæ, which were formerly the common prisons. These are immense quarries, sunk to a prodigious depth and excavated in some places to immeasurable vaults, supported by stone pillars which have been left in position. Various of these pillars having yielded, vast masses have collapsed and now afford, with their covering of bushes and vegetation, the wildest and loveliest sight imaginable.

In one of these caves is an alum-boiling establishment, which increases its natural gloom. The smoke of the furnace, the flickering light of the fire, the black faces of the labourers give the impression of a romantic witchcraft scene. What is known as the ear of Dionysus is a cave some sixty feet high and about fifty wide, which all but converges overhead. It extends some seventy yards into the rock in the shape of a Latin S, and still possesses a very powerful echo, which has probably been appreciably weakened by a more recent excavation made at the side. The idea that this cave was fabricated by Dionysus in order to learn the secrets of the prisoners, is probably a recent invention, for I am not aware that any writer of antiquity makes mention of it. At

the same time, it appears to have been fabricated especially with the echo in view, for it is excavated with greater skill and care than all the rest. It may be that they thought to become more readily aware of any disturbance and revolt amongst the prisoners. Above the mouth of this cave may be seen the foundations of some buildings, where the gaoler's dwelling was perhaps situated and where every noise in the cave might be heard immediately.

The Latomiæ of Acradina are nearer the sea and now serve as the gardens of a Capuchin monastery. They are of the same style as the others, only infinitely more beautiful and picturesque. The spacious caves and jagged rocks are profusely decked with vines and the ground is planted with fig, orange and pomegranate trees. And thus these fearful abodes of vengeance, once the haunt of crime and misery, are now transformed into the most agreeable pleasure gardens in the world, and the dismal cellars wherein so many an unfortunate consumed his life in dread and despair, now form pleasant and romantic asyla, sheltered no less from the heat of summer than from the cold of winter.

We set out from Syracuse on May 23, leaving Agosta and Lentini unvisited, for we had been told that there was nothing of any note to be seen there. A few miles from Syracuse are the remains of an old building, which Marcellus is said to have erected, although I suspect that it was a tomb. The Leontine district, once so renowned for its fertility, is nowadays altogether uninhabitable throughout the summer by reason of the foulness of the air. In sundry places I noticed *tritium silvestre*, the wild wheat, which springs up of itself in uncultivated spots. It is smaller than common wheat and more difficult to extract from the husk, but its nutritive properties are identical. Thence arose, it is presumed, the fable of Ceres, who is said to have been the first to teach the cultivation of wheat in this country. The plain of Catania is very rich, but uninhabited by reason of the foul air. We crossed the Symæthus, now called the Jaretta, which divides this plain into two parts, by ferry, and immediately remarked the most fearful devastation wrought by Mount Etna.

CATANIA. MAY 23

On entering Catania, the traveller crosses the lava of 1669, which looks every whit as fresh to-day as immediately after its eruption. The latter occurred twelve miles above the town, and a formidable river of lava flowed down, bringing inevitable destruction as far as ever it reached. Instead of adopting some preventive measures, casting up dams or digging trenches in order to break or avert its force, the people of Catania brought forth the veil of St. Agatha, in company with a multitude of saints. The consequence of this was as usual: a large part of the town was destroyed, the harbour blocked and the inhabitants exterminated, but the saints remained in greater honour than ever before, for the people persuaded themselves that this misfortune had befallen them on account of their unbelief and not through the fault of their celestial guardians.

Shortly after our arrival, we waited on Prince

Biscari, and enjoyed for the first time the pleasure of encountering a noble vassal of the King of Naples, whose acquaintance would always be highly desirable, no matter to what station in life fortune had called him. The appearance of his fief of Biscari, the contentment of his numerous subjects, the affection with which they spoke of him, and the general spirit of activity which prevailed everywhere, gave me the most favourable idea of him, which continued to increase as I observed the orderliness and adjustment of his house and discovered the wit and generosity he displays in every consideration affecting the profit or the embellishment of his domains. One can only deplore that the ingratitude of the soil renders the labour and skill of the farmer to a large extent fruitless.

In addition, there is the inherently jealous mentality of the Sicilians, combined with their superstition, to which there consorts the pressure of the government, all of which will not permit any thought of amelioration to develop. Whoever has the wit and force to undertake anything of that sort, earns the reputation of a dangerous innovator and encounters everywhere the hatred and counteraction of individuals and suspicion and persecution on the part of the government.

We found the Prince in his museum, which is very rich and always open to students. In the first room are the marbles, among them some outstanding busts and the torso of a Jupiter which appears to be the veritable original of the one in the Museum Clementinum at Rome. This precious relic is perfectly preserved and of the most superb craftsmanship. There broods over the whole a universal repose and majesty, which the Greeks were especially able to attain when they depicted the father of gods and men, *omnia supercilio moventem*. There are other fine pieces of sculpture in the museum besides, but when it has once seen the entirely perfect, the eye can turn only with indifference, nay, even with revulsion, to anything inferior.

In addition, the Prince has an estimable collection of bronzes, Etruscan vases, natural curiosities, and especially coins. The Sicilian ones are numerous and well-preserved, and afford agreeable and instructive entertainment even to those who are not exactly connoisseurs of the antique, for so outstanding is their taste and execution, that, considered purely as examples of sculpture, they are highly attractive.

The Prince's palace is a large, irregular building, of which the older portion is overloaded with gigantic figures and unnatural decoration in the barbarous Sicilian style, whilst that which the Prince himself has built is simple, regular and delicate. The town is well-nigh entirely modern, the streets regular and broad; the houses, however, are in very bad taste and the generality of them unfinished. The churches are all in the style of the new architecture, being erected after the year 1693, when the town was entirely destroyed by an earthquake. Several of them, notably the main church, are very richly adorned and decorated with various varieties of coloured stone fashioned into the weirdest figures. One can scarcely think of a single wild monster

that was not to be found on the buildings of modern Sicily.

The Benedictine monastery is an immeasurable building, erected at an incredible cost, but in the habitual style. It is not yet completed, nor is there any probability that it ever will be, for, by reason of the proximity of Mount Etna, this town cannot count on a very long existence. The church is dignified and splendid; the interior had just been completed, and, remarkably enough, without any of the accustomed trumpery, but there seems to be a desire to reintroduce it externally, for the little of the façade which has been completed appears to fall not far short of the palace of Prince Palagonia.

In common with the remainder of the Sicilians, the inhabitants of Catania are much wont to ascribe their antiquities to the Greeks, though without reason, for the Greek town was entirely and utterly destroyed by Sextus Pompeius, and though admittedly soon afterwards restored, only to be devastated afresh by an eruption of Etna. It was rebuilt once again with the assistance of the Romans, only to be overtaken afresh by a similar disaster. One cannot wonder sufficiently at the fact that, after such repeated devastations, the town was always rebuilt in the same position at the outlet of a valley which inevitably carries the lava up to it. So long as the harbour there continued to favour trade, it was natural that the love of gain should cause the inhabitants to forget that great danger, but finally they had no motive for remaining here other than the difficulty of transferring their property. However, even this difficulty seemed to be removed when everything had been covered with scorched rocks and transformed into a barren wilderness. Nevertheless, that blind affection for the place of our birth, none the less natural to all of us because so difficult of explanation, overcame all opposition and, after each devastation, Catania was reconstructed with ever greater splendour and brilliancy. Now it contains 16,000 inhabitants, who live in perpetual danger; however, usage and a sincere reliance on St. Agatha cause them to give little thought to such matters.

Catania enjoys the privilege of being governed by its own Senate and of not receiving any garrison. Thus it increases daily in wealth and splendour, and the encouragement on the part of Prince Biscari, which he extends no less to the arts than to active enterprise of every kind, imparts to the city an air of life and industry scarcely to be found in any other town in Sicily. Only recently he offered to construct a harbour and, had the court supported him as he deserved, this town would have become the great trading centre of this part of the Mediterranean. Yet, incredible though it may seem, this offer met with resistance. In the meantime, the Prince expended the money destined for this project on the construction of an aqueduct which waters and fertilises an extensive stretch of country and also on the fecundisation of the lava of 1669. The Prince also intends to publish a circumstantial work on the antiquities of Catania, which, to judge from the drawings I saw, promises to be of considerable value.

ETNA. MAY 27

Having seen the most notable sights of Catania, we set out for the summit of Etna. The traveller ascends gradually for some twelve miles, as far as the village of Nicolosi, through rich vineyards and mulberry plantations. Yet even these were penetrated and frequently destroyed by the last lava stream. The Sicilians call such places by the corrupt Spanish name of "sciarra." The lava of 1669 erupted just near Nicolosi, and the surrounding district is still covered with dry, black ash expelled on this occasion. The small hills, together with the crater from which the lava issued, are still infertile, as if the eruption had occurred yesterday, and will probably long remain so, until the variation of the weather has matured this material sufficiently to render it capable of supporting vegetation. I ascended to the summit of these eminences, and saw around me an endless succession of similar formations, some likewise infertile, others richly planted with vines, others covered in oak woods, others again rendered indistinguishable by successive waves of lava and transformed by the immense influence of time into fertile soil and covered with woods and vineyards. We rested a little in the monastery at Nicolosi and then pursued our journey, conducted by a peasant from the village, Blasio by name, who habitually serves as guide to those visiting the mountains. Here the wooded district begins and continues as far as the goats' cavern, a distance of some six miles. The path is steep the whole way and leads partly over the lava of 1766, which must have afforded a fearful spectacle as it flowed to a breadth of four miles through an oak wood. As we climbed higher, the path became even more abrupt and the variation of climate very noticeable. In Catania it was the middle of the corn harvest, at Nicolosi everything was in flower, as if in May, but as we approached the goats' cavern the trees were just coming into leaf and the air was excessively chill and biting. We kindled a fire in this tiny cavern, rested until midnight and then climbed, through infertile ashes and fragments of lava, to the summit. After we had ridden some eight miles, the mountain began to be so steep that we were obliged to abandon our mules and complete the rest of the journey on foot. We halted for a while to contemplate the scene which lay before us. The night was clear and just bright enough to show us the outlines of the objects, but without the detail of anything. Complete silence prevailed, broken only from time to time by the tumult of the mountain, which sounded loud and solemn, like the sea breaking in a storm. The crater could be distinguished by the murky glow that shone through the huge clouds of steam which rolled forth. The whole together constitutes the most fearful spectacle I have ever witnessed and with which, of a certainty, nothing in the world may be compared.

We found little snow on this side of the mountain, but the cold was so severe as to be scarcely tolerable. Neither weight of clothing nor the exertion of climbing through loose ash which yielded at every step were able to warm us. I had the misfortune to break my ther-

mometer and therefore cannot cite the degree of cold with any accuracy, but it was so prodigious that the hot steam which escaped from the small fissures in the vicinity of the crater froze immediately on the stones. After climbing for some two hours with endless exertion and difficulty, we arrived at the brink of the crater. The view which is here revealed defies all description or imagination. The whole of Sicily, Malta, Calabria and the Lipari Isles appear directly below the spectator as on a map. All the detail was lost in the bluish tint of morning and the whole seemed sunk in silence and repose. I felt myself elevated above humanity and looked with contempt on the mighty objects of veneration below me. The localities where so many mighty cities flourished through art and arms, where so many fleets and armies contended for the supremacy of the world, appeared nothing but dark stains.

As the sun rose, the scene was gradually illuminated, the plains and mountains, lakes and rivers became steadily more distinct until they attained a certain stage of clarity, whereupon they faded, likewise by degrees, into the mists which the sun had drawn up. Mount Etna itself acted as a gigantic sundial, whose shadow extended far beyond the visible horizon, so that I was persuaded that it would be quite possible, given a good telescope, to see the coast of Africa and Epirus from here. Sometimes I thought I could see the coast of Apulia through a good pocket telescope by Dollond, but by reason of the terrific cold, I was unable to bring sufficient attention to bear on the task.

Nevertheless, I resolved to look into the crater before we returned. Our guide had much to recount of the danger this entailed and how frequently the hollow, projecting banks of lava collapsed, but after some persuasion and sundry imprecations to St. Agatha, he led us to a spot already tried by some intrepid foreigner. Thence I gazed into the awful abyss of fire and saw gigantic projecting rocks between which issued mighty clouds of steam always intermingled with a dim, tremulous light. I could perceive no bottom, nothing but the crashing and roaring of the billows of molten matter, which made a noise of such magnitude as to give me some conception of the waves and tornados of tempestuous fire which raged below. Having thus indulged our curiosity, we descended once more, more or less frozen, to our cavern, there to warm and recover ourselves, and then return to Catania, where we arrived in the evening, exhausted with fatigue.

ACIREALE. JUNE 1

After resting for two days we took the road for Taormina, spending the night in Aci. The next morning we followed a route a few miles to the side of the highway, in order to see the famous chestnut tree, alleged to be capable of affording shelter to one hundred horses. It is, however, not one single tree but a whole group, and the rest, despite the fact that they occupy a considerable area, are all lopped trunks and very much mutilated. In Sicily they may well be accounted a miracle, seeing that the greater proportion of the inhabitants have never seen a tree larger than the low-growing

olive, but for him who is accustomed to see the noble oaks of England, this can be but a contemptible object. On this occasion, however, I had the consolation of seeing one of the most fertile and most highly cultivated areas in the world. Nothing can exceed the cultivated region of Etna either in the fertility of its soil or in the vigour of its crops. Those aspects in particular are remarkable, which have not suffered any eruption of late. Every product of the earth grows and flourishes here in the greatest profusion, and the temperance and salubrity of the air are in no wise inferior to the fertility of the ground. Thus these districts are very thickly populated and far better farmed than any other part of Sicily. The number of the inhabitants on the whole of Etna is computed at 160,000 souls, which is relatively greater than in any other part on the island. As I surveyed this area of the mountain, I was confirmed in my opinion that the latter had formerly been higher, for it is still possible to distinguish a subsidence extending over a large area, together with its limits.

TAORMINA. JUNE 2

We came to Taormina, the Tauromenium of olden times. On the way we sampled the water of the Asine. It is a clear, cold stream which flows down from Etna and is now known as Fiume Freddo. Not many miles farther on is the river Onobalos, now called La Cantara, a considerable watercourse, which forms the boundary of Etna towards the north. In some places its bed is very deeply cut, and I noticed that the bottom of it was a stratum of lava, despite the fact that I could find nothing else of volcanic origin in that area. At Taormina we lodged with the Capuchins.

The town lies on a high hill. Immediately below it on the south side lay the old town of Naxos, out of whose ruins the modern one has arisen. Nowadays it is a poor, ill-constructed place, but the ruins nearby provide adequate testimony to its erstwhile wealth and splendour. The most eminent survival is a theatre, which is the best preserved of all those I have seen. It is built of brick, much broader and of a different style from that of Aegesta. The outer corridor has collapsed, but the proscenium is still more or less whole and the traveller may likewise distinguish the space for the stage, the podium, etc. There are also various galleries and rooms at the side, whose precise function the antiquaries are unable to determine, for they were too spacious and splendid to have been destined merely to contribute to the comfort of the players. The theatre of Aegesta, which dates from a considerably earlier period, has nothing of this kind; rather provision seems to have been made only for that which was indispensably necessary for the presentation and audition of the play. The theatre at Tauromenium was apparently very sumptuously decorated and adapted for every kind of drama and spectacle such as were customary at the time of the Roman Emperors, when a corrupt taste had already prevailed. There are scattered about a number of broken columns of granite, cipolin and other costly building materials, together with capitals and damaged pediments of a degenerate Corinthian order which demonstrate that

the theatre was built under the Romans, probably at the time of the Antonines. It is situated on the slope of a hill, which commands a superb view over Mount Etna and the entire coast of Sicily, even as far as Syracuse. Standing aloof from all more recent edifices, these ruins present a venerable aspect which is heightened by the consideration of the vicissitudes they have suffered; for a place where once a numerous and cultivated audience listened to the works of Sophocles and Euripides has become an abode of serpents and lizards.

MESSINA

When one enters the straits, known as the Faro, the prospect is very lovely and romantic, for the coasts are lofty and rocky, adorned with towns and villages ranged gradually one above another. The entry into the harbour is even more striking. A beautiful lake lies revealed to the eye, culminating on one side in a long range of uniform houses, which, despite their bad style, present a very noble and splendid spectacle. Behind rise the mountains of Heræ, covered with woods and vineyards, between which are strewn churches, villas and monasteries. On the other side of the harbour a small spit of land, shaped like a sickle, extends far out to sea, whence the town gained the name of Zankle. Here are the lighthouse, the infirmary and the citadel, which appears to have been erected not to defend but to dominate the town. But as one approaches the town, this charming spectacle forfeits all its sheen, and every individual object presents a melancholy and dejected appearance. A number of houses are uninhabited, many are already in collapse, few ships are to be seen in the harbour, and the quay, the most splendid and extensive in the world, serves only as a haunt for a few miserable fisherfolk. Everything seems to suggest the sad fate which lately befell this unfortunate town and reduced it from the highest state of wealth and rejoicing to the lowest level of misery and desperation.

After we had disembarked and set foot in the town, the prospect became ever more gloomy. The populace are poor and ragged, the houses, which were once the abode of the great and wealthy, covered in grime and near to collapse. Of all the cities of Europe, probably none is more fortunately situated than Messina. The air is mild and salubrious, and the district around beautiful and fertile. The harbour is large and convenient, in the midst of the Mediterranean, and favourably situated as well for easterly as for westerly trade. These natural advantages are further heightened by sundry privileges and freedoms, conferred on the town by the Kings of Normandy, Germany and Aragon. As she was the first to open her gates to King Roger, who captured the island from the Saracens, she appears to have possessed an especial right to favour and preference. So many fortunate circumstances naturally elevated her to wealth and greatness. Messina contained 100,000 inhabitants and was the great trading centre for this part of the world. But as trade and wealth naturally stimulate love of liberty, so the Spanish yoke became irksome to the inhabitants, and in the year 1672, impelled by the Vice-

Regent, they rose in revolt. With great bravery and perseverance they resisted successfully for some time, and finally entrusted themselves to the protection of Louis XIV, who, being then at war with Spain, in 1678 abandoned them shamefully after all their loyalty and effectively rendered service. Since that period it has been the objective of Spanish diplomacy to oppress the town and reduce it to poverty. The harbour is practically unusable by reason of the enormous tariffs, trade is severely restricted and every necessity of life is at a high premium. To bring this sad state of affairs to the extreme, the plague carried off in 1743 well-nigh three-quarters of the inhabitants, who total nowadays no more than 30,000.

We spent a few days inspecting the town, but discovered nothing especially remarkable. The buildings are all in the modern Sicilian style, and, with the exception of the churches, all seem to be on the verge of collapse.

The whirlpool of Charybdis, so terrifyingly depicted

by the poets, is situated immediately outside the harbour of Messina. It is never noticeable except when the wind blows contrary to the current, and then it may well have engulfed small craft. In the time of Homer, when navigation was still imperfect, it may well have been really terrible, and even in Virgil's time it was not without its dangers, for the Romans were very contemptible sailors in comparison with the moderns. Yet the description of it in the *Æneid* (111420) goes far beyond the reality, even in the most tempestuous weather:

*Lævum implacata Charybdis
Obsidet, atque imo barathri ter gurgite vastos
Sorbet in abruptum fluctus, rursusque sub auras
Erigit alternos, et sidera verberat unda.*

Nor does there seem any reason to suppose that the current was ever any more powerful than it is to-day. Virgil, however, writes as a poet and not as a student of nature and employs no more hyperbole here than in many another section of his works.

LONDON, ENGLAND

NOTES

IS THE KANIŠKA RELIQUARY A WORK FROM MATHURĀ?*

MIRELLA LEVI D'ANCONA

The so-called "Kaniška reliquary," unearthed at Shāh-jī-kī-Dherī, near Peshawar, in 1908,¹ has been a center of controversy since its discovery. The reliquary was found buried in the foundations of the famous stūpa of Kaniška, in the relic chamber, and it rested on a coin of Kaniška. The casket bears four inscriptions, two of which are mere Buddhist dedications. The third gives the date in the first year of Kaniška, and the fourth, which is written between the heads of the figures on the drum of the casket, reads: "The slave Agisāla, the Superintendent of works at the Vihāra of Kaniška in the Monastery of Mahāsena."

Spooner put together the facts that the reliquary was found in the stūpa of Kaniška, that it rested on a coin of that king, that something like the name of Kaniška appears in the inscription on the casket itself, and that the portrait of the Kuṣāna monarch shown on the casket is similar to representations of Kaniška on Indian coins and to the stone portrait statue of the Kuṣāna monarch found in Mathurā.² He concluded that this is the casket in which Kaniška enshrined the relics of the Buddha for which he built the stūpa.³ A further discussion on the subject is given by Konow, who reads, in addition, the date of the casket in the first year of Kaniška and the title of the king.⁴

Since the casket was found in the Gandhāran region, its Gandhāran workmanship has been assumed, without taking into account the facts that a work of such small size is easily transportable, and that artists migrate.⁵

*I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Soper for the assistance he has given me in the preparation of this paper. For the illustrations thanks are due to Bryn Mawr College.

1. For the description of the find, see D. B. Spooner, "Excavations at Shāh-jī-kī-Dherī," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1908-09*, p. 50.

2. See for reproduction, L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, New York, 11, pl. 76.

3. See D. B. Spooner, "The Kanishka Casket Inscriptions," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1909-10*, pp. 135-141. The author admits that there are several difficulties in the interpretation of the inscription, one being the uncertainty in the reading of the name of Kaniška.

4. See S. Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, 11, pt. 1. *Kharoshthī Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1929, pp. 135-137. N. J. Majumdar, *A Guide to the Sculpture in the Indian Museum (Calcutta)*, Archaeological Survey of India, 1937, has some doubt about the conclusions of Spooner and Konow. He objects to the identification of the Kuṣāna king on the casket with Kaniška because the king is beardless on the reliquary, while Kaniška wears a beard in his portrait on coins: beardless features appear only from the time of Huviška onward. Furthermore, the Buddha on the lid of the casket is seated on a lotus, and this iconography occurs in "earlier Gandhāra sculptures" only in the Miracle of Srāvastī, and this is not the case here, the Buddha being in the *abhaya mudrā*. His last reason is the presence of lotus petals around the edge of the halo, which appear in the later Kuṣāna period, not in the time of Kaniška.

5. L. Bachhofer, "Die Haritī vom Skarah-Dherī," *Ostasi-*

The great French scholar, A. Foucher, took it as the central element for his chronology of Gandhāran sculpture;⁶ and after him many scholars of Indian art have taken up the question, trying to fit the reliquary casket into their various hypotheses regarding the development of the Gandhāran school. It has been recognized that the casket cannot be directly compared with the other products of the school, but in spite of the discrepancies this work has always been considered a product of Gandhāra. Marshall, Spooner, Vogel, to cite only a few scholars who have dealt with the question, have tried to explain the visible stylistic differences by placing the casket in a period of decadence in the Gandhāran school. This theory is firmly opposed by Foucher on the ground that "mediocrity is not decadence."⁷ He explains the mediocre quality of the casket as being due to the work of an ungifted artist. At the same time he insists on an excellence in design which seems to him sufficient justification for attributing the casket to a flourishing period of the Gandhāran style. Rowland, on the contrary, thinks that the casket represents an archaic phase of the Gandhāran school. Its incised draperies seem to him to be an early characteristic, and so he dates the greater number of Gandhāran remains after the reliquary.⁸

The purpose of this paper is neither to take up the discussion of the inscription and the attribution to Kaniška as donor, nor to discuss the relationship of the casket's date to the chronology of Gandhāran art in general. I shall instead attempt by a stylistic analysis to prove that the reliefs on the casket are related to works of the school of Mathurā, rather than to Gandhāran art. The style of the casket will first be considered in

atische Zeitschrift, N.F. XII, 1936, pp. 100ff., has attributed to the school of Mathurā the dated stone statue of Haritī from Skarah-Dherī, which, like the Kaniška reliquary, has generally been used to determine the chronology of the Gandhāran school. Although the Haritī is carved in the black slate of the Svāt valley, so characteristic for the works of Gandhāra, this statue belongs stylistically to the school of Mathurā. Such apparent contradiction may be explained by the presence of Mathurā workmen in the region of Gandhāra. The same hypothesis may be forwarded for the Kaniška reliquary, which was manifestly cast for the stūpa of Kaniška in the Gandhāra region (see inscription in Konow, *op.cit.*), but shows unmistakable characteristics of the school of Mathurā. This migration of artists is not unprecedented, and other instances of migration of workmen might be quoted (St. Thomas, for instance, who is said to have come all the way from Palestine to the kingdom of Gondopharnes in India).

6. A. Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, 11, Paris, 1918. He dates the beginning of the reign of Kaniška and of the Śaka era in A.D. 78. Consequently the reliquary casket, which he places in the reign of Kaniška, is by him dated in the first century A.D. Having established in such a way a fixed point in chronology, he proceeds further in the dating of Gandhāran sculptures comparing other works of the school with the casket: the works which show a stronger Hellenistic imprint are dated by him earlier than the first century A.D., the others later.

7. A. Foucher, *op.cit.*, pp. 540ff.

8. B. Rowland, "Revised Chronology of Gandhāra Sculpture," *ART BULLETIN*, XVIII, 1936, pp. 387ff.

general, and then it will be related to specific works of the school of Mathurā.

The casket (Figs. 1 and 2) may be divided into three parts. The top of the lid has a group of a seated Buddha between two standing attendants. The side of the lid shows a low relief of running geese. On the drum of the casket is a design based on cupids holding a continuous garland. One cupid is replaced by a standing frontal figure in the stiff Kuṣāna tunic and a tiara-like hat. In the loops of the garland on either side of him are the half-length figures of the sun and moon gods, similarly dressed. In each of the remaining loops is a squatting Buddha.

The Buddha is seated high up on the lid, on a lotus flower. His figure is squat, and he has an oval face with high cheekbones and protruding round eyes. On his heavy halo is carved a radiating lotus pattern. He is represented in the attitude of assurance (*abhaya mudrā*) with the right hand wide open and the palm facing frontally, and the left hand raised, clutching a fold of the mantle. Both shoulders are covered. The attitude of the Buddha, with both hands raised, one of them clutching the drapery, is characteristic of the school of Mathurā, but appears very seldom in Gandhāra, where the left hand generally rests on the crossed legs. The halo, while generally scalloped or radiated in Mathurā, is always plain in the earlier phase of Gandhāran art. Only in the latest period is it decorated, probably from contacts with other centers.⁹ Except for late works of the third or fourth century A.D., in the final phase of the Gandhāran school, the Buddha is always seated on a rectangular throne. The oval head of the Buddha, the wide protruding eyes, the animated expression, the heavy proportions of the body, are all characteristics of the school of Mathurā missing in the more classicizing and restrained school of Gandhāra.

The attendant figures of deities at the sides of the Buddha are also squat in proportion, with head and torso much too big for the lower part of the body, with long disarticulated arms,¹⁰ and feet facing sideways. The figures have headdresses and earrings, and wear princely dress, but lack the necklaces and heavy jewelry which characterize Gandhāran Bodhisattvas. Disproportion in the parts of the body and the disarticulation of the arms are characteristics found in several works from Mathurā, but not so frequent in Gandhāra, where the classical canons of beauty were more strongly felt.

The relief with the wild geese, a motif found since the time of Aśoka, is rare in both schools before the Guptan period, and for this reason will not be emphasized here. The motif is very common in Afghānistān. Several examples of geese have been reproduced by Hackin, some being in attitudes similar to the ones on

the casket.¹¹ Hackin has pointed out many similarities between the Begram ivories and works from Mathurā. It would be interesting if also this iconography derived from the same school.

If we examine the drum of the casket, we will notice at once that, in spite of the poor workmanship of the relief, there is a great deal of movement and energy involved. Each of the putti is in a different position, running at full speed, calmly walking, or in violent torsion, with the head bent forward, away from the background. Such movement and active energy are uncommon in Gandhāra, but are among the most common features of Mathuran art. The proportions of the body are in keeping with the group on the lid, and such details as the outward splay of the feet, the wide eyes, the disarticulation of the members, are quite prominent here. The seated Buddhas alternating with the putti show another interesting detail, the presence of a smooth snail-shaped *uṣṇīṣa* in which the hair is gathered into a spiral knot on top of the head. This treatment also is one of the characteristics of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas from Mathurā (Fig. 3). It never appears in Gandhāra where the hair is gathered into a round knot, and the surface of the *uṣṇīṣa* is covered either by undulating hair, or by small round curls, which in later works become stylized into mere holes drilled into the surface.

Let us examine some specific examples from Mathurā for comparison. It may be interesting to note that the only sculptured portrait of Kaniṣka we have is the statue from Mathurā. Similarities between this statue and the representation on the casket have been pointed out, but they are more of a generic kind than actual stylistic connections. The so-called portrait of Wima Kadphises in the Mathurā Museum,¹² show the disarticulation of the arms as in the standing deities on the lid of the casket, and a double line to indicate the wrist. Moreover, the figure, like the Kuṣāna king on the reliquary, is represented with elbows apart from the body, another frequently found peculiarity of the school of Mathurā.¹³ A *torāṇa* relief in the Mathurā Museum (Fig. 5) shows a procession of children who resemble the *erotes* on the casket: round heads with hair fastened in a high knot on top of the head, short necks, swelling chest, and short legs. The swelling chest is better seen in another relief from the same series,¹⁴ while the peculiar way in which the chest is divided from the lower part of the body by a deeply cut line is shown in another Mathurā relief, a Jaina Āyāgapāṭa.¹⁵ One of the *erotes* on the casket bends over, away from the background, in a movement similar to that in the figures on top of the Bhūtesar stūpa railing,¹⁶ while the disarticulation of the proper left leg in the cupid in torsion on the casket has

9. For reproductions of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas with plain halo see, L. Bachhofer, *op.cit.*, II, pls. 144-146. The examples with ornamented halo are unfrequent in Gandhāra. Bachhofer, *op.cit.*, does not reproduce a single one, and Burgess gives only three examples: J. Burgess, *The Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India*, part 1, *The Earliest Monuments*, London, n.d., pls. 82, 92, and 93.

10. By the term "disarticulated" is meant the peculiar aspect of legs and arms, shown as if they were made of rubber and

had no bone structure.

11. J. Hackin, *Recherches archéologiques à Bégram*, Paris, 1939, pl. LXXIII, figs. 225 and 226.

12. J. Ph. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Paris, 1930, pl. II.

13. See Fig. 1, and Vogel, *op.cit.*, pls. va, viii, xxiii, xxiii, to quote only a few examples.

14. Vogel, *op.cit.*, pl. ix.

15. Vogel, *op.cit.*, pl. vb, flying figure at the top right.

16. Vogel, *op.cit.*, pl. xviii.



FIGS. 1-2. "Kaniska" reliquary from Peshāwar (from Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, II)



FIG. 3. Bodhisattva from Katra, Mathurā Museum (from Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*)



FIG. 4. Fragment of lintel from Jamalpur(?) (from Vogel, *op.cit.*)



FIG. 5. Central part of toraṇa lintel from Katra, Mathurā Museum (from Vogel, *op.cit.*)



FIG. 6. Fragment of lintel, provenance unknown, Lucknow Museum (from Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, II)



FIG. 1. Samuel Jennings, *Liberty Displaying the Arts and Sciences*. Philadelphia, Ridgeway Branch of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

an analogy in the figures on another relief.¹⁷ The widely flaring drapery of the Kuṣāna king reaching below the knees, is found, strangely enough, on a Buddha figure, in a relief from Mathurā, now in the Calcutta Museum.¹⁸ The squat proportions, the disproportion between the upper and lower parts of the body, the heavy drapery curving up in a wide loop at the bottom, and the placing apart of the feet, are all characteristics that the deities at the sides of the Buddha on the lid of the casket share with the figures on a relief in the Mathurā Museum (Fig. 4). The seated Buddhas of the Museum of Lucknow frieze (Fig. 6) may be compared with the throned Buddha on the casket in general proportions. The third Buddha from the right also has one hand in the *abhaya mudrā*, while the other clutches his robe. A peculiar way of dressing the hair with deeply cut lines radiating from the forehead is also common to the two examples. The facial type seen on the casket, especially in the standing putto to the left of Figure 2, the wide protruding eyes, long nose, ridged eyebrows, and smiling active expression of the faces, may be paralleled in a number of works from Mathurā: to take only two examples, a Nāga of debased workmanship,¹⁹ and the Kātra Bodhisattva-Buddha (Fig. 3). The latter example shows also the snail-shaped *uṣṇiṣa* like the Buddhas on the drum of the casket.

Other details could be analyzed to prove the relationship with the school of Mathurā, but I think that the ones already examined are, when put together, a sufficient proof. It is interesting to note at this point the observation made by Agravala²⁰ while discussing the Mathurā Museum fragment No. 2367 (unfortunately he does not reproduce it): "the whole composition reminds us of the group on the top of the Kanishka relic casket of Peshawar." The idea that the Kanishka reliquary does not belong to the school of Gandhāra, although not clearly formulated, must have already forced itself to the mind of some scholars, since the latest literature on Gandhāran art does not discuss the casket as a vital point in the chronology of the school. If the reliquary casket, which for a long time has been such a riddle for the archaeologists, may be placed now in its proper school, it will no longer be a contradiction in the development of Gandhāran art.

INSTITUTE OF FINE ARTS,
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

A PHILADELPHIA ALLEGORY

ROBERT C. SMITH

An allegorical painting entitled "Liberty displaying the Arts and Sciences" or "The Genius of America encouraging the Emancipation of the Blacks" was included in the recent distinguished exhibition "From Colony to Nation" held at the Art Institute of Chicago

from April 21 to June 19, 1949.¹ The subject of this picture is so unusual and its history is so interesting that a longer treatment of the allegory and its author than that given in the exhibition catalogue seems justified.

Samuel Jennings, the painter of the allegory, was one of several young Pennsylvanians who, following the example of Benjamin West, went to London to practice painting during the second half of the eighteenth century. He was probably the Samuel, son of John Jennings, who on April 3, 1770, was accepted as a student at the University of Pennsylvania,² for it is known that the painter's father was also named John.³ If this is true, he must have been born between 1750 and 1755, since it is hardly likely that he would have entered the University before the age of fifteen or after that of twenty. There is no record of his graduation.

In 1787 Samuel Jennings is said to have been conducting a school of drawing in Philadelphia and painting portraits and miniatures.⁴ Two years later he was already exhibiting at the Royal Academy in London,⁵ perhaps as a result of West's personal interest in a fellow-townsmen. From that time until 1834 he constantly showed his pictures at the Academy, the British Institution and the Associated Artists, offering occasional portraits and classical subjects, but principally religious pictures, of which no less than seven represented the Magdalen at her devotions.⁶

1. The Art Institute of Chicago, *From Colony to Nation, an Exhibition of American Painting, Silver and Architecture from 1650 to the War of 1812*, Chicago, 1949, p. 51.

2. The University of Pennsylvania, *Biographical Catalogue of the Matriculates of the College, 1749-1893*, Philadelphia, 1894, p. xxxii.

3. *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Library Company of Philadelphia*, manuscript at the Ridgeway Branch of the Library Company of Philadelphia, henceforth referred to as MPLCP.

A John Jennings, the only individual of that name, is listed in the *Philadelphia Directory* of 1791 as "clerk to the commissioners of bankruptcy and register of sweeps" (p. 65). As such he continued to be listed until 1796, when he appears as "clerk of the mutual assurance" (*Philadelphia Directory* of 1796, p. 96). This is the Mutual Assurance Company for Insuring Houses from Loss by Fire (Green Tree), founded in 1784, which still functions in Philadelphia. A year later he is listed as an alderman (*Philadelphia Directory* of 1797, p. 96). It is the last time his name figures in the city directories. In 1802 a John Jennings died in Philadelphia and on February 3 his widow, Mary Jennings, together with William Nichols, a merchant, and Michael Hillegas, the first Treasurer of the United States, took out letters of administration of his estate (Philadelphia City Hall, Register of Wills, Letters of Administration, 1802, no. 29). The presence of several law books, including one on cases of insolvency, in the inventory of his possessions indicates that this John Jennings was the clerk of the commissioners of bankruptcy. The existence, furthermore, of no less than nine "painted pictures," one of them a "Death of Gen. Wolfe," in his extremely meager estate gives strong reason to suppose that this John Jennings was also the father of the painter, Samuel Jennings.

4. The Art Institute of Chicago, *op.cit.*, p. 51.

5. Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, London, 1906, IV, p. 245.

6. *Idem*, *The British Institution*, London, 1908, p. 300; *A Dictionary of Artists Who Have Exhibited Works in the Principal London Exhibitions from 1760 to 1893*, London, 1901, p. 153.

William Dunlap formed a low opinion of Jennings. He

17. Vogel, *op.cit.*, pl. xxiiib.

18. Vogel, *op.cit.*, pl. xxia, top scene.

19. Vogel, *op.cit.*, pl. xliid.

20. V. S. Agravala, "Acquisitions to the Mathurā Museum," *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the year 1934*, Leyden, 1936, p. 14.

Jennings' decision to paint the allegory shortly after his arrival in London was caused by news of the construction of the new building of the Library Company of Philadelphia,⁷ which was begun on August 1, 1789 on plans by Dr. William Thornton.⁸ The painter informed his father of his intention in a letter dated January 12, 1790.

"My Dear Father.

Having lately received information that an Elegant Building is now erecting for the Philadelphia Library, an Idea immediately struck me, that if it would not be thought presumptuous, I should esteem myself very happy to have the honor of presenting a Painting to the Company that would be applicable to so noble, and useful an institution, and which if agreeable to the Gentlemen who have the Directions of it, shall use my utmost exertion & abilities to make it acceptable; the great affection I retain for my native Country, will always be an inducement to me to contribute my mite toward the Encouragement of Arts and Science, hoping, in due time, they will arrive to as great perfection as they are at present in the place I now reside. As I do not know who the Gentlemen are that have the direction of the Library, I request you will be so obliging as to communicate to them the Information I have given you, and if they should be pleased to approve of it, as I hope they will, it will be necessary for me to be acquainted with the length, breadth and height of the Room, together with the Situation they would wish to place it in and if over the Fire-place, the distance from the Mantle-piece to the Ceiling. You will perhaps think me too particular, but these are things essentially necessary. As soon as I receive an answer from you with their approbation which I hope will be by the first Packet from New York, or any other immediate opportunity, I shall put the piece into Execution. In regard to the Subject; there are three, which I think would be applicable to the Institution viz: Clio—Goddess of History, and Heroic Poetry, Caliope—Goddess of Harmony, Rhetoric, & Heroic Poetry, Minerva—Goddess of Wisdom

quotes the painter's own declaration of his success "in manufacturing old pictures for the knowing ones," and adds that "of course he was an imposter, leading a life of falsehood and deception; and probably ended it at Botany Bay unless his meritorious knavery exalted him to a higher situation in the country of his adoption" (*A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, New York, 1834, I, p. 435). Since Jennings was still exhibiting at the Royal Academy in the year these words were published, he appears to have escaped the former and enjoyed the latter fate. Like West himself, Samuel Jennings probably never returned to Philadelphia. He is last mentioned in 1834.

7. For an account of this building see Fiske Kimball and Wells Bennett, "William Thornton and the Design of the United States Capitol," *Art Studies*, I, 1923, pp. 76-92.

8. *MPLCP*, III, pp. 195-197.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 206-207.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 313-314.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 299.

13. It appears in a sketch of the interior of the old library building made by Colin Cooper in 1859, of which there is a photograph at the Ridgeway Branch. When this building was torn down in 1888, the allegory was moved to the new home

& all the Arts, the Presidentess of Learning which seems to comprehend every thing that can be desired. The dress of Minerva is grand, and would make a better picture than either of the others. But if an other Subject should be their choice, I shall with pleasure comply with it."⁸

A committee of the directors of the Library Company especially appointed to consider the matter replied on April 2, 1790, that of the three subjects Jennings offered they preferred Minerva.

"... but as a more general latitude has been so politely granted, they take the liberty of suggesting an Idea of substituting the figure of Liberty with her Cap and proper Insignia displaying the arts by some of the most striking Symbols of Painting, Architecture, Mechanics, Astronomy &,"⁹ whilst She appears in the attitude of placing on the top of a Pedestal a pile of Books, lettered with, *Agriculture, Commerce, Philosophy & Catalogue of the Philadelphia Library*. A broken Chain under her feet, and in the distant back Ground a Groupe of Negroes sitting on the Earth, or in some attitude expressive of Ease & Joy."¹⁰

At a meeting of the directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia on September 23, 1790, it was announced that Jennings had promised to deliver the painting by the next spring.¹⁰ The allegory did not, however, reach Philadelphia until 1792, when it was acknowledged on June 13.¹¹ A gilded frame was procured from the cabinetmaker James Reynolds at a cost of seventeen shillings and six pence per foot,¹² and the painting was hung in the Library building at Fifth and Chestnut Streets from the gallery opposite the main entrance.¹³

On June 11, 1792, Jennings published a notice in a Philadelphia newspaper inviting subscriptions for a print after his picture. There he describes the allegory in almost the same terms as those the directors had used in reference to the subject they preferred.¹⁴ In arriving at their decision they may have been influenced by the

of the Library Company at Locust and Juniper Streets. When in turn this building disappeared, during the summer of 1940, the painting was taken to the Ridgeway Branch, where it can now be seen, still in the frame which James Reynolds made for it. The allegory is signed "S. Jennings Pinx.^t 1792," and measures 60 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 73 inches.

14. *Pennsylvania General Advertiser*. The announcement reads: "Proposals by Samuel Jennings. For publishing by subscription, a print, From an original Picture painted by himself for the Library Company of the City of Philadelphia, Representing Liberty displaying the Arts & Sciences, by the most striking Emblems to wit, Geography, Music, Poetry, Painting, Heraldry, Sculpture, Geometry, Mechanics and Astronomy. Liberty is in the act of placing the Catalogue of the Philadelphia Library on a Pedestal with some other Books and as an emblem of aversion to slavery, a broken chain is placed under her feet; A group of Negroes in the foreground are paying homage to Liberty, for the boundless blessings they receive through her: and another in the background are in attitudes expressive of Ease and Joy. Shipping are introduced to represent Commerce Conditions." (This is quoted in Alfred Coxé Prime, *The Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland and South Carolina, 1786-1800*, series two, Walpole Society, 1932, pp. 16-17.)

presence in Philadelphia of a famous allegory which the artist Robert Edge Pine had brought with him from London in 1784. This was that painting of the "liberty and prosperity of America" executed "whilst the war still raged, and every Englishman flattered himself with the entire success of their arms,"¹⁵ which was exhibited at Pine's house on Eighth Street until his death in 1788. Indeed, at the moment of their writing, it was being offered as a principal prize in a lottery advertised by his widow.¹⁶

The extraordinary suggestion that Negroes be admitted to the allegory probably stems from a combination of sources. Richard Wells, who headed the directors signing the letter to Jennings, was a member of the Philadelphia Society for the Abolition of Slavery and in 1789 led a special committee of the organization.¹⁷ The architect of the building, Dr. William Thornton, who was in Philadelphia at the time the letter was written, may have allowed his own Quaker Abolitionist feelings to influence the Library's committee, for through his friendship with Dr. John Coakley Lettson in England he had early conceived a desire to free slaves and send them back to Africa.¹⁸

In his handling of each detail of the allegory Samuel Jennings carefully carried out the Philadelphians' recommendations. Against an architectural setting which incorporates the rich red drapery dictated by both British and American tradition for such backgrounds is seated the figure of Liberty. Blonde and comely, dressed in a modish white gown, with her symbolic cap upon a pole which leans against her shoulder, she is an elegant precursor of the Yankee schoolmarm of a later day, as she busies herself with her books and daintily treads on the chain—"an emblem of aversion to slavery"—spread out at her feet. Liberty's books are clearly labeled and arranged almost exactly as the directors had indicated. Commerce, to be sure, has been relegated to the ships in the distance, but Agriculture and Philosophy are seen atop the classical pedestal. In her hands the goddess holds, perhaps as a symbol of ultimate enlightenment, the 1789 edition of the catalogue of

the Library Company's holdings. The twin tomes of Homer and Virgil stand at the foot of the pedestal.

Other books are disposed along the red and white marble floor. In the lower left-hand corner are some great texts of English literature, Milton and Shakespeare with Thompson's *Seasons*. Farther to the right, under a sheet of paper headed with the word "Geometry" appears a curious title half hidden by a tablet of mechanical diagrams. This is *Howard. Prisons* and refers undoubtedly to the works of the reformer and penologist, Dr. John Howard, who before his death on January 20, 1790, had visited and described most of the prisons of northern Europe.¹⁹ The inclusion of Howard's book may have been a delicate compliment to the Philadelphia Society for the Relief of Distressed Prisoners of 1776, out of which grew the Society for the Alleviation of the Miseries of Public Prisons, an organization which probably counted among its members shareholders of the Library Company.

Slightly to the left of this group and almost in the center of the foreground appears an unidentified bronze bust. This may provide the strongest antislavery note of the whole allegory, for the features of the statue clearly resemble those of the eminent philanthropist and friend of slaves, William Wilberforce, M.P.²⁰ It was he, who in 1787 had agreed to bring in a bill for the repatriation of large numbers of Negroes to Sierra Leone, some of whom had been taken by the British Army in Virginia and transported to England.²¹ Since Lettson wrote of him with enthusiasm to Thornton,²² the London Abolitionist may have personally transmitted his admiration of Wilberforce to Samuel Jennings.

The other cultural symbols of the allegory are easily distinguished. Beside Liberty is Geography's globe, then the lyre of Music with Handel's air from Judas Macabaeus, "Come ever smiling Liberty," appropriately displayed. The palette and brushes of Painting share honors with the attributes of Architecture and the shields of Heraldry, the latter an especially strange detail for an Abolitionist picture. Astronomy's telescope,

15. *Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser*, January 11, 1790.

16. "A fine original Allegorical Picture, representing the liberty and prosperity of America, 9 feet 6 inches by 6 feet 10 inches (framed) value 220 [pounds ?] (*ibid.*). Charles H. Hart describes an "Allegory of America suffering the Evils of War" by Pine which was sold to Savage and Bowen's Museum in New York and in 1795 was taken to Boston for the Columbian Museum, where it is thought to have burned in a fire in January, 1803 ("The Congress Voting Independence," A Painting by Robert Edge Pine and Edward Savage," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, January, 1905, pp. 11-15). Composed about 1781, it was stipple engraved by Joseph Strutt in England. Stauffer lists an American version by Amos Doolittle in 1807 (*American Engravers upon Copper and Steel*, New York, 1907, p. 90). The two descriptions may refer to a single allegory.

17. *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, January 21, 1789.

18. See James Johnston Abraham, *Lettson, His Life, Times, Friends and Descendants*, London, 1933, and the Lettson-Thornton correspondence in the "Thornton papers" of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress.

19. John Howard, F.R.S. (1726?-1790), author of: *The*

State of the Prisons in England and Wales with Preliminary Observations, and an Account of Some Foreign Prisons and Hospitals (Warrington?, 1777); *An Account of the Principal Lazarettos in Europe . . . Together with Further Observations on Some Foreign Prisons and Hospitals* (Warrington, 1780); *Appendix Containing Observations Concerning Foreign Prisons and Hospitals*, London, 1790.

20. Compare the portraits of Wilberforce (1759-1833) in Lionel Cust, *The National Portrait Gallery*, London, 1901, and the print by T. Blood after Russell, 1814. On May 12, 1789, Wilberforce had made a famous speech in Parliament advocating the abolition of the slave trade.

21. J. C. Lettson to William Thornton, "Thornton papers," II, p. 74.

22. There is no reference to Samuel Jennings in Lettson's published correspondence (T. S. Pettigrew, *Memoirs of J. C. Lettson*, London, 1817, 3 vols.) or in Abraham's biography of the doctor. Jennings seems, however, to have painted another Abolitionist, Thomas Clarkson (1760-1846), who was associated with Wilberforce. The portrait (22½ by 18½ inches) now in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Carson of Bryn Mawr, was exhibited in Philadelphia in 1795 at the Peale Museum. It was engraved (4½ by 3¼ inches) by P. Maverick of New York.

perhaps in discreet allusion to David Rittenhouse, terminates the composition and concludes the allegory.

In arranging the Negroes for his picture Jennings faithfully followed the directors' recommendation that they be placed in the background "in some attitude expressive of Ease & Joy." Some indeed are seen "sitting on the Earth," with basket and baby, while others form a boisterous group about a dancing figure whose pose and agitated scarf approach as near the wanton grace of Romney's Bacchantes as the Philadelphia painter's scruples and limited draughtsmanship permitted. A banjo player with an attendant child provides the music for this festival. To celebrate the cause of their gladness these Negroes have erected a liberty pole with a laurel wreath, somewhat after the fashion of those Philadelphians who in 1789 had decorated Gray's Ferry's approach in honor of Washington's journey northward to his inauguration in New York.²³ Not content with these figures alone, Jennings introduced a second group in the foreground which he has represented in servile poses becoming to their gratitude to the goddess who would liberate them. A landscape vaguely suggesting the Schuylkill's shores, displays sailing vessels upon a river.

Jennings' Negroes undoubtedly constitute the most original feature of his picture. Such figures as these seem to be unique in American painting of the period, for there appears to be no earlier instance of a group of typical plantation Negroes rendered in such detail before the nineteenth century. All of the persons in the Phila-

delphia allegory have eighteenth century clothing. For the Negroes this was to be expected, since Benjamin West had set the tradition for contemporary dress in his American history paintings. A goddess, however, clothed in the current fashion of London represents a departure from all established taste in such matters.

Judging from the secretary's letter of acceptance, the directors of the Library Company were well pleased with Jennings' picture.²⁴ Since then the allegory has elicited a variety of opinions. Scharf and Westcott considered it "a showy picture, but . . . not a work of art."²⁵ Frank W. Bayley and Charles E. Goodspeed, who annotated Dunlap, thought it "not a work of great merit."²⁶ Mantle Fielding found it "large and imposing."²⁷

Certainly from the technical standpoint Jennings' work is inferior. The columns and figures of the background are crudely drawn and poorly modeled. Liberty appears too large for the scale of the Negroes kneeling beside her. One of the latter is almost entirely without form beneath his brick-red clothing. The various objects in the foreground, equally wanting in substance, have a distracting two dimensional quality. In these respects the allegory seems the work of a not very gifted student, which indeed it probably was. The extraordinary subject which the painter and the directors of the Library Company together evolved, however, justifies the picture and establishes its great interest for students of American thought and art.

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23. An engraving of the decoration, entitled "An East View of Gray's Ferry," after Charles Willson Peale, which Jennings could easily have seen, was published in the May, 1789, issue of the *Columbian Magazine* (pp. 282-283). On one shore hung a laurel crown and at the other a liberty cap was elevated upon a pole. Since the latter motif had already been used in the allegory, Jennings may have put the crown

on the pole for variety.

24. *MPLCP*, III, pp. 313-314.

25. J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1884, II, p. 1045.

26. Dunlap, *op.cit.*, edition of Boston, 1918, II, p. 125 n. 1.

27. *Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors and Engravers*, edition of New York, 1945, p. 187.

BOOK REVIEWS

JOSEPH GANTNER, *Romanische Plastik, Inhalt und Form in der Kunst des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts*, Vienna, Anton Schroll, 3rd edition, 1948 (1st edition 1941). 130 pages, 46 illustrations. Frs. 4.80.

The study of Romanesque sculpture and painting has received strong impulses for the last thirty or forty years from the contemplation of contemporary artistic production. The present age is intent on making visible in its art the invisible, either by turning outward form into the vehicle and nothing but the vehicle of inward emotion or by substituting the abstractions of modern physics for the humanistic limitation of rationalized Renaissance space and form. Such an age can hardly be blamed for trying to detect a kindred spirit in Romanesque art. The distortions inevitable in any such comparison—particularly one of works and ideas so far apart in time—are obvious; in this case they have been aggravated by the fact that the elements common to both periods seemed to be essentially of a negative character. They have been seen mainly in the absence of classical principles despite the borrowings of classical detail in Romanesque art. Few attempts have been made to arrive at a positive and objective definition of Romanesque style; most of them are found more or less shamefacedly hidden "between the lines," in books dealing with the publication of material. For in the twenties and even today material, new material and any kind of new material, was and is greatly in demand. It would be absurd to deny the great value of those sometimes enormous collections of material as mere "material" for further study. The trouble begins quite frequently when the monuments are linked together in a chain of evolution without clear insight into the nature of the style. And how could there be any insight so long as, following a strangely perverted conception of "objectivity," each monument was judged "on its own merits"? Thus lack of principles has been proclaimed a virtue, and with no standards for, or even interest in, quality, the chain of evolution has been developed along the lines of *post hoc, propter hoc*.

An investigation of the essence of Romanesque style should therefore be welcome. By separating the unchanging substance from the flowing elements of evolution both the aims of theoretical insight and historical research should be furthered. For, just as theory needs the solid foundation of historical research, the latter receives its direction from theory: the two operations, widely differing from each other, yet perform the paradoxical feat of standing on each other's shoulders.

This applies, of course, to any other style as much as to the Romanesque: still, in the case of the latter, the difficulties are immeasurably greater than in the Renaissance and later periods. Woelfflin could explore the character of space and form in the Renaissance and Baroque periods without giving a general theory of space and form in art. He could do this because the

humanist and rationalistic character of space and form were as self-evident to his own generation as they had been to the men of the Renaissance and the Baroque. No such easy access can be found to the world of Romanesque art.

In the book under discussion, Professor Gantner chooses iconography as his guide to the formal problems of Romanesque sculpture. The assumption which can be readily granted is that form and contents are intimately related. An introductory chapter develops the fundamental qualities of the style from an analysis of architecture: these qualities are seen in the absence of normative types and in the separation and isolation of parts. The assembling of separated parts, arbitrary so far as their number is concerned, might be conceived as a succession of spaces arranged in the order of their increasing liturgical or sacral importance (the author is under no delusion as to the hypothetical character of this assumption). On the foundation of these tenets a few simple theses are built up:

(1) The gradation of contents (e.g. in the decoration of a portal from abstract ornament to plant and animal forms and finally to religiously significant human shapes) corresponds to a similar gradation of sculptural effects.

(2) Abstract, i.e. geometric, ornament is used as an immaterial foil for the "higher" phases of content (a statement almost identical with the preceding one); basic geometric forms are discovered as the constitutive elements of all Romanesque compositions. This sounds like an interpretation of form rather than of iconography. However, while Focillon and Baltrusaitis claim the preexistence of these patterns before they are invested with subject matter, thus making the choice of subject matter arbitrary and accidental, the author believes that the geometric pattern is conditioned by the composition from the very beginning. Nevertheless, when the discussion of these patterns is taken up again in the second part of the book, which deals with problems of form, the use of the same patterns in compositions of different iconographic contents is pointed out and thus the original argument considerably weakened. Too great importance seems to be attributed to these hidden geometric skeletons of composition. They are as simple as the triangular shape chosen for a group of three figures, with the emphasis placed on the central figure and axis. This age-old design can hardly be called specifically Romanesque.

(3) There follows upon the discussion of the iconographic significance of ornament an excellent chapter on symbols and monsters. The theological foundations for the use of symbols, where a later age would expect representations, are expounded with great lucidity. One feels, however, that this should be supplemented by an analysis of the symbolic element even within the narrative scenes which has been so admirably demonstrated by Rudolf Berliner.¹ It would then appear that the

1. "The Freedom of Medieval Art," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, ser. 6, XXVIII, 1945, pp. 263-288.

author is on dangerous ground in the following chapter (*Verhuellung und Begrenzung der Aussage*), which postulates "prayer" rather than "sermon" as the object of Romanesque art. This is to say that where we look for the clarity of objective doctrine we find intentional and subjective obscurity, created by the ample use of symbols and of those monsters which live in a world half way between the symbolic and the real. The changing character of the monsters leads on to the equally unstable nature of the human form for which no accepted standards exist even within the same work or group of works. This is certainly true and the obscurity of the monsters which were unintelligible to a Bernard of Clairvaux may also be readily admitted. But can it be doubted that in the minds of the clergy, laity, and even the artists the justification of art was found in its usefulness in teaching and spreading the Word? Should we not then conclude that the "obscurity" of some elements of Romanesque sculptural decoration sets them off not as parts in the iconographic hierarchy but as elements in the hierarchy of form? An art in which, e.g., the cubic character of a capital seems to change into a continuous relief thanks to its decoration could well use these fabulous creatures which seem to change their forms as we look on. With great skill and eloquence the author points out their apparently transitory character (to which, however, it should be added, a relentless fixation is simultaneously opposed). He uses this and the argument of missing standard types in the second part of the book as a parallel for the discussion of neutrality of materials and the interchangeability of artistic forms (*Neutralität des Materials und Tausch der Gattungen*).

It is widely believed that the style of a Romanesque relief can be "explained" by reference to a similar composition in an illuminated manuscript, often of considerably earlier date. The author quotes Jantzen on the Hildesheim doors with approval: "A gigantic book page cast in bronze, unsculptural, without tectonic structure . . ." and the almost identical phrase of M. Deschamp on Ripoll: "La magnifique page en relief(!) d'un gigantesque manuscrit." The term "unsculptural" is pitifully inadequate to describe the highly complex nature of the Hildesheim doors. However, if we accept the modicum of truth in this assertion, the unsculptural quality is not owing to dependence on the remotely similar compositions in the Bible of Alcuin (and to their arrangement on the page!), i.e. to the imitation of painting. It is owing to what the author calls elsewhere the "biological position of the artist" (*biologischer Standort*; we would say "place within the evolution") which in this case, it should be pointed out, lies midway between the late antique illusionism of Carolingian and the sculptural compactness of Romanesque art. Further, Emile Mâle's famous derivation of the Moissac tympanum from the Beatus manuscripts is quoted. Again this observation, valuable though it is, does not lead us to the sources of the style of Moissac, much less to an understanding of its essence. In other words, the materials are *not* "neutral." There are distinct bronze and stone styles which owe

little or nothing to painting. Obviously there is in every period, and embracing all its arts, a general style in which the minor stylistic differences of the materials are embedded. In this connection it may be said that bronze (and the related material of stucco) lends itself more readily to the expression of the sculptural ideas of the eleventh century, while stone seems to be a more adequate medium in the twelfth. Yet in the eleventh century the doors of St. Maria im Kapitol or the Cluny capitals show within the general stylistic character which they share a distinct wood and stone style; while the bronze tomb of Friedrich von Wettin is as different from contemporary stone sculpture as Verrocchio's *Doubting Thomas* is from his bust of *Lucrezia Donati*.

As proof of the principle of interchange of forms, Professor Gantner notes the similarity of geometric patterns in the ceiling of St. Michael's at Hildesheim and in the ground plan of a late Romanesque church (Riddagshausen). This is an interesting remark which deserves to be followed up by further observation. (Another example in which a pattern is derived from the normally invisible design of the cross-section of a church is unconvincing.) But is the correspondence so typically and exclusively Romanesque? Is not the "restless" form of the oblong as characteristic of the psychology of form in a late style as, in a similar phase of development, in the mid-sixteenth century the oval that may be found in a Vignola ground plan, in the framework of a relief by Vincenzo Danti or in the decoration of a cassone? Still, we certainly encounter here an element in the grammar of forms, speaking in Wölfflinian terms.

A last chapter deals with the isolation of the human figure. When discussing the monsters, I have had occasion to remark on the element of fixation which is opposed to the element of change in these creatures. Similarly the principle of isolation seems counteracted by that of surface tension according to which the isolated figures are arranged along the relief ground within the frame. This achieves more for their unification than any hidden geometric pattern. The author does not attack this problem; it would have led him immediately into the even more fundamental problems of form and space in Romanesque art. In that case, he would have been forced to develop different principles for the eleventh and twelfth centuries which he now treats as a unity. This has some disadvantages, as when he discusses as generally Romanesque the typically late Ottonian phenomenon of sculptural emphasis on heads with the lower parts of the figures tapering off in the Hildesheim doors.

This book has grown out of the author's work on the first volume of his *Kunstgeschichte der Schweiz* and with legitimate pride he chooses Swiss examples for the illustration of his theses wherever that is possible. In one or two instances this selection has somewhat modified the results. The Gallus portal in Dr. Gantner's home town of Basel, for instance, though certainly an important monument is also one of composite derivation, partly French and more than half Lombard. Such a monument does not seem to this reviewer to be an ideal paradigm from which to deduce statements of universal validity. Some examples from outside Switzer-

land are of a decidedly provincial character and, therefore, not fully conclusive: the tympanum in Arles-sur-Tech, the *Deposition* in San Juan de las Abadesas (why not the earlier Tivoli *Deposition* which is the prototype of this group?) and the statues from the left portal of Chartres which are generally given to the Master of Étampes. They show a rigidity and uniformity which the author correctly points out in support of his argument; but these qualities are not found in other (and better) statues of the west façade and are therefore evidence of inferior quality rather than of style.

Does the author really believe that the Campanile of Pisa was built intentionally and for aesthetic reasons as a leaning tower when such frantic efforts were made in the upper storeys to bring it back into the perpendicular?

In one instance an error in fact has led to a brilliant discussion: I am referring to the passage on the archaic smile which is started off by an analysis of a head in San Domingo della Calzada. The author is surely right in seeing here not the influence of archaic Greek art but a means of expression independently developed in various civilizations at a given point of their development. Following Kingsley Porter, he dates this head in the third quarter of the twelfth century. But Porter must be wrong: this head and the accompanying one of an old woman² are much younger than the part of the building which they decorate. The head of the woman is derived from the Elisabeth of the Amiens *Visitation* and the obvious influence of the Master of the Reims Joseph dates it even later; the other head, despite its archaistic treatment of the hair, shows the type of a Gothic angel of the *Annunciation*. In other words, in the Middle Ages the archaic smile belongs to the Gothic and not to the Romanesque phase, with hardly an exception.

This is a very thoughtful and thought-provoking book. If we are not able to agree with all its conclusions the length of this review is, and is meant to be, a tribute to the author's seriousness of purpose, to his remarkable analyses and to the important hints he gives for future discussion, based on his book, of the problem of Romanesque form.

MARTIN WEINBERGER
Institute of Fine Arts,
New York University

JULIUS BAUM, *Martin Schongauer*, Vienna, Anton Schroll & Co., 1948. 80 pages, 3 color plates and 213 figures. \$3.75.

This is a useful book. It is in spite of certain limitations even a good book. Its usefulness is established by the fact that it is a clear, sober, and reliable account of the life, the engravings, drawings, and paintings of the most important German master of the second half of the fifteenth century. There exist up to now special publications either of the engravings or the drawings or the paintings. There is one comprehensive monograph by Eduard Flechsig which appeared in 1944 but Baum's book is more concise and in many respects handier.

Generally speaking, Baum follows the line of the earlier research on Schongauer. In arranging the plates he establishes his chronology of the engravings which does not contain revolutionary changes of Lehr's or Wendland's order. In looking it over, I would propose putting the *Foolish Virgin* (B 87, fig. 12) later because of the form-creating value of its burin work; likewise, I would assign a later place to the *Enthroned Christ* (B 70, fig. 22). It is definitely later than the *Coronation* (B 72, fig. 23) and the *Blessing of the Virgin* (B 71, fig. 24). The extreme clarity of its style of engraving links it to the late *Annunciation* (on two plates, B 1 and 2, figs. 94 and 95). When discussing the paintings Baum is right not to follow Bauch in claiming the Stauffenberg Altar as an early work of Schongauer but to consider it as a step leading up to his art. On the other hand, I would not separate the small *Adoration of the Shepherds*, in Frankfort (fig. 185), from the other small panels in Basel, Munich, Berlin, and Vienna. One has, I believe, either to acknowledge the entire group as Schongauer's work or to reject it. The little Frankfort panel is very fine, especially in the representation of the winter landscape, and not beneath the quality of the others. It is very important that Baum refutes the nonsense of Naumann's attribution of weak works of the Schongauer school to what he calls "the first pupil of Schongauer," i.e. Matthias Gruenewald; one could only wish that he had stated this refutation more vigorously, since these incorrect attributions have already crept into the official catalogue of the Strasbourg Museum.

In general, the shortcoming of Baum's book is that he is not outspoken enough in evaluating the importance of the master and his special importance as an engraver. One finds stylistic characterizations of the works throughout his discussion and these characterizations taken together give a correct picture of Schongauer's stylistic aims. This summing up is somewhat difficult for the reader. Therefore, there should be at the end a clear, comprehensive account of Schongauer's governing role in the building-up of the style of the second half of the fifteenth century. Being the true pupil of Rogier van der Weyden, the academician of the fifteenth century, Schongauer is, in the same degree, responsible for the interruption of the painterly aims of the generation of Conrat Witz, of his and his fellow artists' interest in the problem of space and figures in space, and of all true painterly trends. Like Rogier (and because of his engravings, even more influential), Schongauer is the master of the well balanced, finely linear figure group or the well disposed single figure—the interior or the landscape being an accessory element only, and almost completely omitted in the late works. In Baum's interpretation, Schongauer fails to appear clearly as the revivalist of fourteenth century linear trends leading up, on the other hand, to true High Renaissance compositions. This is what Middeldorf had in mind in writing his analysis of Schongauer's "classical style" (*Deutsche Beiträge*, 1947). Schongauer, the pupil of Rogier, is also the forerunner of

2. *Romanesque Sculpture in Spain*, New York and Florence, n.d., II, pls. 94, 95.

Dürer in the Heller Altar, the All Saints Panel, or the woodcut of *The Trinity*—in spite of his elegant late Gothic detailed form.

Similarly, I should have liked not only a casual mentioning of the graphic technique of the master but also a comprehensive characterization of Schongauer's extreme importance in developing burin engraving proper. Most of the early engravers used the burin not much differently from the needle, creating either painterly or pen-drawing-like effects. In the engravings of the Master E S, but far more consistently in Schongauer's *oeuvre*, the burin work becomes a form-creating system of parallel- and cross-hatchings, constituting a unique graphic picture not to be compared with any other technique in its metallic clearness and sharpness, excluding all casual freedom, all sudden changes of the form of the line. And here it should be more explicitly emphasized how strongly in this respect Schongauer was the teacher of Dürer.

The illustrations are, in general, adequate with the exception that the screen of the photo-engraving process is never good enough in the reproduction of engravings or line drawings. One plate must be criticized sharply, namely, the color reproduction of the *Rose Hedge Madonna* (pl. 1), which is not only blurred but completely out of focus, distorting the face of the Virgin. Yet the completeness of its illustrations is a great asset in making this book a real corpus of Schongauer's work.

GUIDO SCHOENBERGER
Institute of Fine Arts,
New York University

FRANCISCO PRAT PUIG, *El pre barroco en Cuba, Una escuela criolla de arquitectura morisca*. La Habana, 1947. 438 pages, 39 text figures, 169 plates.

Dr. Prat Puig's book has brought to the studies of Hispanic art in the New World the experience and the method of the archaeologist. Having had to interrupt work in his native Catalonia and in France as a consequence of the war, he has applied his skill to an attractive problem of Spanish colonial architecture. By following up and assembling the dispersed traces of *mudéjar* in early Cuban civil architecture, he has been able to describe the hitherto hidden substratum of Cuban colonial art: a local school of Moorish (*morisco*) popular building showing an unusual strength and purity. The great majority of examples Señor Prat dates between 1617 and 1723, the years of the reconstruction of the great parish church at Camagüey and of the consecration of *Nuestra Señora de los Dolores* at Santiago.

Skillful and loving interpretation extracts from the maze of mutilated buildings a characteristic house plan. This, with its peculiar disposition of doorway, corridors, rooms, and dependencies, with its *mirador*-like corner room, its typical galleried courtyard, and its front balconies, reveals the Moorish pattern. Prat has completed these observations by a thorough classification of the

parts done in wood, as for example the charming *mudéjar* roofs (*alfarjes*), the wooden doors (*cuarterones*), and the various elements belonging to the galleries and roofed balconies. A special chapter is dedicated to building materials and methods.

The aspect revealed in civil architecture is parallel to that of coeval religious constructions. The signal points of *mudéjar* manifestations, the roofs, and particularly the treatment of the chancel in the interior, as well as the façade and tower outside, yield identical results. Some decorative elements such as an occasional *arrabá*-like door frame (Espíritu Santo, La Habana) or a rare echo of the horseshoe arch (identified by Dr. Prat during the recent restorations of the parish church at Remedios, an example to which the writer proposes to add the considerably later one of the nave of Espíritu Santo at La Habana) complete the Moorish vocabulary. Noteworthy are such peculiarities of *mudéjar* architecture as the stepped gable façade of the parish church at Remedios, and the square, domed or vaulted side chapels interpreted as *capillas cubbas* (parish church at Sancti Spiritus; Santo Tomás at Santiago). Yet though the milieu is propitious for the identification of such anachronisms that *ex definitione* are inherent in *mudéjar art*, we should keep in mind how many details, like the *arrabá* itself, were assimilated as an integral part of Spanish art. Thus they are no longer indicative of provenance. It may seem questionable whether the side chapels can really be styled as *cubbas*. Señor Prat in discussing (p. 271) the difficult problem of choirs situated in the nave of a church (as in Remedios, where documents are extant to prove their existence), after having dismissed for obvious reasons an interpretation after the fashion of the Spanish cathedrals, points out himself that a possible association with *mozarabic* liturgy does not constitute more than a challenging hypothesis.

Instead, Señor Prat is able to contribute several interesting new datings. He proposes (p. 108) to understand the isolated Gothic cross-vault of the presbytery of Espíritu Santo as an outcome of the customary *mudéjar* emphasis on the chancel, and thus to date the vault as contemporary with the original construction in the middle of the seventeenth century. Hitherto, on the authority of Pezuela's statement,¹ it has been accepted as contemporary with the restoration of 1720. The façade of the Cristo del Buen Viaje, contrary to previous assumptions,² is rightly dated in the eighteenth century (pp. 60, 114, 137), although the writer doubts that it can be derived from that of the Cathedral of Cadiz. Neither the famous projects of Vicente de Acero (1725) modified later by Torquato Cayón de la Vega,³ nor the final solution of Manuel Machuca Vargas of the end of the eighteenth century can be held responsible for the Habanese church, which instead should be associated with types like the Concepción at Oaxaca. Finally, Señor Prat publishes an interesting

1. Jacobo de la Pezuela, *Diccionario geográfico, estadístico e histórico de la Isla de Cuba*, Madrid, 1863-66, III, p. 141.

2. Joaquín Weiss y Sánchez, *Arquitectura cubana colonial*, Havana, 1936, p. 28.

3. Cf. Juan de Contreras, Marqués de Lozoya, *Historia del arte hispánico*, Barcelona, 1945, IV, pp. 466ff.

document of 1579 concerning the first construction of San Francisco at La Habana (p. 298) showing that this church was covered by an *alfarje*.

The description, drawn from several documents of the years 1579-1785, of a different and more modest type of house than the one treated so far, is used by Señor Prat to date the type of the well-known corner houses of old La Habana prior to the Moorish houses discussed (pp. 295ff.). The description in the documents extant is perhaps a little too generic to allow such far-reaching conclusions. Besides, the reviewer cannot follow Señor Prat in connecting the type reproduced in figure 38 with the type of house common to the interior of Cuba and to Santo Domingo, for which he is quoted (p. 298). The *alfarje* of San Francisco of 1579 proves the early existence of strong *mudéjar* currents such as exist almost everywhere in America.⁴ Nonetheless, Señor Prat (pp. 335ff.) proposes to connect the new impulse of Moorish art in Cuba at the beginning of the seventeenth century with the expulsion of the *moriscos* from Spain in 1609 and the following years. He thus associates the relative purity of architectural detail not with an already debilitated Andalusian tradition as carried on by Christians but with teams of Moorish workmen. The laxity of the Spanish authorities in enforcing the reiterated prohibitions against the immigration of Moors and Jews to the provinces of the New World is well known. On the other hand, Señor Prat quotes (p. 330) a recently discovered document in which the *Cabildo* of La Habana decides to adopt part of what seem to be the official rules of *mudéjar* construction compiled by the town of Seville. This important source confirms the fact that the *mudéjar* technique had become a generally recognized means of construction and was not necessarily limited to Moorish workmen.

However, it seems to the writer that this problem cannot be solved in respect to Cuba alone. Señor Prat draws perhaps too sharp a distinction between what he considers to be pure Moorish realizations and the evidence of their assimilation during the eighteenth century that constitutes one of the most interesting chapters of Hispanic art in the New World. His fine observations on the interpenetration of Moorish and Herreresque style should not be limited to Cuba. This new mode of *morisco* art in which, as it seems to the writer, the popular *morisco* element is fused with the official Herreresque imperial style, can be met with all over America. For the blending of *mudéjar* and Herreresque motives it is interesting to see how in Guatemala a purely *mudéjar* element like the *cuarterones* is translated from wood into stone and forms the picturesque background of the Herreresque façade of the Hospital de San Pedro (1655-1633) at Antigua.⁵ The loose association of the type of Cuban balconies with that of the Canary Islands

(pp. 332-334) should be followed up and pushed further. The Canaries played such an important role in the resettlement of the depopulated provinces of the Empire that they would offer a much better explanation for the spreading of such details all over America than does Cuba.

Dr. Prat's book has added to the history of architecture in Cuba a chapter of capital importance uncovering as it does the foundations for the official baroque of the island. At the same time it has deepened our insight into one of the main problems of Hispanic art. It is to be hoped that Señor Prat will, as he promises, carry his studies on into the eighteenth century and trace the history of the assimilation and extinction of the *mudéjar* vocabulary.

ERWIN WALTER PALM
Universidad de Santo Domingo

OTTO BENESCH, *Venetian Drawings of the Eighteenth Century in America*, New York, H. Bittner & Company, 1947. 41 pages, 69 collotype plates. \$15.00.

We Americans have started to collect drawings so late that the United States cannot supply long sequences of first rate examples of the great Renaissance schools of Florence, Germany, and France. But we have a rich choice of the eighteenth century Venetian drawings (as we also have of Chinese paintings) because beautiful ones have abounded at recent sales where, as Dr. Benesch says, "many a private collector gained some highlights of his property." Since the Venetian eighteenth century is as handsomely represented in American drawing collections as anywhere else, the scope of this book is not limited, as its title might seem to imply. Its nearly seventy large, delicate, and brilliant collotypes unfold a series of some of the most sparkling triumphs of Western art. It is no wonder that the *milordi* bought drawings in Venice just as they bought engravings and marbles in Rome. This constant stream of rich and intelligent tourists certainly helped to make Venice one of the first places where artists commonly produced drawings for sale as well as making the usual studies toward paintings or engravings. Was it perhaps Venice where the first large international commerce in contemporary drawings was organized?

It would be curious to know how these early independent drawings were intended to be used. In eighteenth century France, where drawings were often framed, many were designed large enough to be effective on a wall. Large drawings are perhaps less common in Venice, where they were often produced in album sets too numerous for framing. A drawing that is made to be seen in the hand, without glass, can expand into delicate subtleties of light, whereas one that is framed on a wall needs a contrasting pattern or a distinct silhouette to carry across a room. Difference in use may have contributed to the difference in effect of French and Venetian drawings in the eighteenth century.

This last great golden age of Italian art receives

4. It is a pity that Señor Prat could not use Manuel Toussaint's decisive *Arte mudéjar en América*, Mexico, 1946.

5. Reproduced in Pál Kelemen, "Colonial Architecture in Guatemala," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, Washington, D.C., August, 1941, fig. 3; José Joaquín Pardo, *Guía turística de las ruinas de la antigua Guatemala*, Guatemala, 1942, pp. 116ff.

a learned and sensitive introduction from Dr. Benesch who writes with the well ordered, systematic information that one would expect from a scholar who has become curator of the Austrian state collection of prints and drawings. Since Dr. Benesch is also an expert and delicate water-colorist, he describes these Venetian drawings like a man who has the habit of pencil and brush. Thus he says of Piazzetta: "The black chalk strikes over the surface of the rough paper with a caressing softness. The medium is not imposed on the ground with force, but the ground seems to attract it like a magnet and to distill it to velvety surfaces saturated with colour." And of G. B. Tiepolo: "If we look at those lighting, flaming lines in white and red chalk on blue paper, it is as if streams of colour would roar through the small space of the paper."

All in all, this book delights by taking one into the last securely aristocratic art of the West, the last untroubled recklessness of fantasy before man's imagination surrendered to realism.

A. HYATT MAYOR
Metropolitan Museum of Art

A. P. OPPÉ, *The Drawings of William Hogarth*, London, Phaidon Press, 1948. 65 pages, 91 plates, and 49 text figures. 25s.

Only someone who is working, as I am myself, on Hogarth's art in its manifold aspects and, in consequence, is continually hampered by the lack of critical, up-to-date catalogues of the artist's pictures, drawings, and engravings, can fully appreciate the publication of a catalogue of at least the drawings. It may be said at once that A. P. Oppé's work is quite excellent and, at the present stage of Hogarth research, could scarcely be improved upon. The book consists of two parts. The introduction is primarily intended to characterize Hogarth as a draughtsman and the author uses, as his starting point, Hogarth's own account of his drawings, in his autobiographical notes. For this penetrating introductory essay alone the book should be read by all who are interested in the great eighteenth century artist. The catalogue proper, which follows, brings together, for the first time, the whole material of Hogarth's drawings. The almost unknown group of drawings belonging to the Marquess of Exeter, and acquired by one of his ancestors from Hogarth's widow, is the great novelty here. As we now see, apart from the Royal Library at Windsor and the Print Room of the British Museum, this collection is the third great repository of Hogarth's drawings. Oppé's catalogue is very thorough, extremely critical, almost hypercritical, certainly very sceptical—and this again is something to be very thankful for at a time when so much in Hogarth's work has not yet been clarified. Had the catalogue been a "broad-minded" one, it would have been fatal for Hogarth research at this early, precarious stage. As it is, there can be little doubt that all the drawings, restricted to some ninety odd, which Oppé attributes to Hogarth, are indeed by him; and it will prove much better to

lengthen the list later, as our knowledge increases, than to be confronted now with a wrongly inflated *oeuvre*.

If I now discuss some aspects of this very solid book, it is not in order to depreciate, in any way, its value but only to indicate the points from which, in my belief, Hogarth research may continue and go further. That a reviewer, to be able to play his part at all, has to assume the somewhat Quixotic role of an art-historical prophet only goes to show how little one can take exception to in Oppé's book.

Hogarth, the draughtsman, as we meet him in Oppé's analysis, is decidedly unlike the one people are accustomed to imagine: namely, an artist working assiduously after nature, picking out, from amongst the crowds, scenes and characters which interest him and drawing them avidly, on the spot, in a sketchbook ever ready at hand. The Hogarth who emerges from this publication, on the contrary, draws as little as possible after nature and but rarely, even in his own academy, after models. With his miraculously good memory, he could afford this. His drawings were chiefly made for complete compositions, in particular, for compositions destined for engravings and for which he did not provide preparatory paintings; as regards pictures, with few exceptions, he went, incredible as it sounds, straight to the canvas itself without the intermediary of any preliminary drawings (we have, by the way, a precedent for this latter procedure in one of the greatest naturalist painters who ever revolutionized art, Caravaggio). Moreover, in his youth, Hogarth was evidently too impatient to spend much time upon learning "scientific" design, on drawing systematically the interaction of the parts of the body. His drawings, few as they are, are more descriptive, as Oppé rightly says, of action and movement than of form and structure. He undoubtedly kept his eye unusually wide open but apparently was not accustomed to carry a sketchbook with him. This is a Hogarth who tallies more nearly with his own account of himself than the Hogarth of popular imagination and, in my view, Oppé's description is substantially true.

Oppé, however, is almost exclusively interested in Hogarth as an individual personality and little as he appears in his broad, historical setting. Moreover, since the question of Hogarth's stylistic evolution has scarcely been touched upon till now in literature, Oppé, I think, purposely leaves it aside as not yet ripe for solution and, in consequence, is rather inclined to consider Hogarth's art as an unvarying whole. Under such circumstances, many of Oppé's remarks, however right in themselves as observations, are only part of the truth. Needless to say, one cannot presume to draw a strict borderline between what is "merely individual" in an artist and what can be understood only within his historical framework. For instance, Oppé appears to regard as signs of a relative antinaturalism not only Hogarth's manner of drawing but also his flamboyance, his employment of language similar to that of anonymous Dutch satirical engravings, his use of expression to illustrate a moral in his work, including his Biblical compositions and so on. However, it seems to me quite impossible to explain and differentiate these various aspects of Hogarth's art, exhaustively, as seen from his personality alone or at best

against the background of his upbringing, and with vague reference to tradition and contemporaries. One does not, for instance, do justice to Hogarth by referring (and with slight censure) only to his "flamboyance" or his "floridity" but not considering him as a baroque artist (still less as an artist in whom different shades of baroque are present in his various kinds of work). What appear to Oppé contradictions in Hogarth are at least just as much the result of the complexity of the historical situation as of the complexity of his person. I hope to be able to show, in my forthcoming book on Hogarth and his place in European art, how these features of Hogarth's art—to what extent they are personal, I should not like to decide—are less contradictory than they seem and grow organically out of various currents of European art which unite in him.

In the catalogue, when distinguishing drawings which he considers by Hogarth from those he rejects, Oppé applies his theory of Hogarth as a draughtsman as presented in the introduction. We may now feel, even more than before, that Oppé's concept of Hogarth may be just a little too one-sided, just a little too much of a construction. Consistency, as Oppé himself says, was not Hogarth's *forte*, and his drawings cannot all be fitted upon the same last. Even Oppé has to concede, of a certain number of Hogarth's drawings, that they were made after models on the spot. And as he draws the borderline extremely tight, it is quite possible there may be more of these than he grants. The black chalk drawing of a half reclining nude female figure in the Pierpont Morgan Library (fig. 13), which Wind has attributed to Hogarth and which he considers to be a study for the lost Danae picture is a case in point. Oppé does not accept the drawing because it is "too accomplished and the modelling too soft to accord with Hogarth's life studies." I have not seen the original but Wind tells me that it is far harder than appears in the reproduction and I cannot believe it impossible that, for once, Hogarth went slightly beyond his usual degree of accomplishment. It seems to me conceivable that later scholarship will accept this drawing, all the more as it accords well with Horace Walpole's description of the Danae in Hogarth's picture as "a meer nymph of Drury." Since Oppé retains a strict conception of Hogarth as a draughtsman who did not make drawings after models in preparation for his pictures, he tries to explain away even cases where the closest relation undeniably exists between drawings made after models in Hogarth's academy and a particular composition. One is the chalk drawing of a nude female figure (pl. 22), corresponding to the woman bathing in the picture of the *Pool of Bethesda*; another (pl. 23), corresponding to the figure of Hymen in the ticket, *Hymen and Cupid*; and the third of a nude male figure, corresponding to the soldier levering a rock (pl. 25) in the *Sealing of the Sepulchre* of the Bristol Altarpiece. Oppé is at pains to explain that all three drawings were very probably made as simple academic studies some time before Hogarth gave any thought to the respective compositions, and chanced later to be found suitable for use in them. Would it not be less involved, by loosening the rigidity of Oppé's construction, to accept the more ob-

vious solution, namely, that these drawings, more likely than not, were intentionally made for the figures concerned in the compositions with which they entirely coincide? I could well imagine that when, as in the case of these three, it was a question of "historical" compositions, to which he attached such great importance, Hogarth preferred to be more careful than usual in his preparations. Another possible reason why Oppé hesitates to decide whether a drawing which does not fit a hundred per cent into his scheme is by Hogarth or not follows from his previously mentioned attitude to Hogarth's stylistic development. In the future, it may be proved that greater differences exist within Hogarth's evolution, also as a draughtsman, than Oppé allows and, in consequence, there may well be drawings by Hogarth, belonging to a particular phase or style of his, which Oppé now rejects only because they deviate from his "average" manner. Another, perhaps even greater, difficulty in deciding at present the right attribution of any drawing near to Hogarth but not quite clearly by him is our almost complete ignorance of the artists around him. Astonishing though it seems, perhaps no period of European art is so unknown, scientifically so unexplored as the English of the first half of the eighteenth century, the heroic period of English art in modern times. At the present less than snail's pace of research, it may take many generations before this period is really known. As things stand today, he would be a bold man who could with certainty decide, for instance, whether the impressive pen drawing of an *Opera Singer* in Windsor (pl. 11) is by the young Hogarth or by Vanderbank, his master at the academy he frequented. All that has so far been said or written about this drawing is necessarily inconclusive, since the right attribution can only be arrived at when a serious work on Vanderbank has appeared. In the case of this drawing, it is at least probable that one has to choose between only two artists. But in the case of most of the Hogarth apocrypha of today (and this is true not only of drawings but also of paintings) one is absolutely groping in the dark among a host of authors, all equally possible or impossible. Oppé himself has made some promising approaches towards a positive clarification not only by eliminating certain drawings from Hogarth's *oeuvre* but also by a convincing approximation of them to Vandergucht or Highmore. It is, however, difficult to go further at the moment, even for such a good connoisseur as Oppé. But in the course of time it is probable, for instance, that the pencil, pen and wash drawing in Windsor representing a *Chelsea Pensioner* seated upon a bench in different positions (fig. 11), a drawing rejected by Oppé partly on the grounds that it is a sketch done on the spot, either will be received into the fold or, should it prove not to be by Hogarth, we shall know who is the real author.

Now that illustrations of all Hogarth's drawings are put together, they also easily convince us, at first glance, just as do his pictures, how very strong is the "French" streak in him. In fact, so strong is it that Oppé, through a slip, attributes the French qualities in Hogarth's early pen, ink and wash drawing of 1728, the *Beggars' Opera Burlesqued* (pl. 3), to the influence of Gravelot.

But Hogarth became acquainted with Gravelot only on his coming to England, as late as 1732. All the same, Oppé's oversight is well understandable because this delicate drawing really looks near to those of Gravelot. What Oppé takes for the particular influence of Gravelot is Hogarth's, even the very young Hogarth's inherent "French" disposition, influence or no influence. This tendency in Hogarth signifies, in other words, his predominant part in developing the painterly features of European eighteenth century art—features which through habit we are used to consider, almost without exception, as French. Even his contact with Gravelot (which was only one of his frequent direct contacts with French art) entailed, as I tried to show some time ago in an article in this journal, a mutual influence of one upon the other. All the more, when going beyond simple "influences" is this true of Hogarth's deeper relation with French art which, in an historical sense, equally consists not only in taking (particularly in the artist's early phase) but also in giving (particularly in his late phase).¹ When some of Hogarth's drawings (especially those in which he uses a broad, vibrating wash technique), some of his sketches and sketch-like pictures remind us so persistently of French art—very often not only of contemporary French art, such as the Watteau school or Gravelot, but also of later, such as Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, Fragonard or even Daumier—this is only an outward sign of Hogarth's importance for painterliness in European art whether baroque, rococo, or neo-baroque. Hogarth's *Operation Scene in a Hospital*, in the Pierpont Morgan Library (pl. 66), for instance, certainly leads the way towards Gabriel de Saint-Aubin. And what, in the eighteenth century, could more prelude Daumier than the British Museum drawings for his cycle *Industry and Idleness* of the *Banquet of the Sheriff* (pl. 56) and the *Idle Apprentice Stealing from his Mother* (pl. 58)? In the article I have just mentioned, I tried to show how much of French art was directly known to Hogarth. A drawing in the collection of the Marquess of Exeter, first published by Oppé, the *Industrious Apprentice, Married and Furnishing his House* (pl. 50)—a drawing ultimately discarded by the artist from the cycle—I think equally demonstrates Hogarth's extensive acquaintance with French art. In view of surprising analogies in pattern as well as in detail, it seems to me very probable that Hogarth had consulted the composition of Lebrun's *Louis XIV Visiting the Gobelin Factory*, a composition which he could have known well through an engraving. The realism of Lebrun's scene, uncommon for this artist and all the more unexpected since the episode belongs to the sumptuous tapestry series of his *Histoire du Roi*, is explained by the unusual subject. Hogarth must have sensed the further realistic possibilities of Lebrun's work, sought them out, simplified the whole composition and brought

the life of the King down to a good middle class level: the King with his retinue inspecting the Gobelin factory, while subordinates are bustling around, carrying and arranging various objects on the wall, is transposed into the industrious apprentice (now a house owner) with his wife and surveyor inspecting the decoration of his house by workers.²

For two other compositions, the drawings of which Oppé publishes, I think I have found sources from which Hogarth took suggestions and it may perhaps be of interest to mention them here. One composition is that contained in two British Museum drawings for the first scene of *Industry and Idleness*, the *Fellow Apprentices at Their Looms* (pl. 41 and pl. 42), and the association concerns at least the position of the industrious apprentice and of his loom. I refer to an engraving representing a woolweaver at work, by Luyken, in his widely known book, *Afbelding der menschelyke Beezigheeden* (1694). This publication by the most popular Dutch engraver of the previous generation was certainly of great interest to Hogarth, since it was one of the few works, and for Hogarth the most up-to-date (that of Amman dating from 1568 and the much smaller one by van Vliet from 1630), that embodied the whole series of human occupations. The other Hogarth composition I should like to adduce is that of the last scene of the *Four Stages of Cruelty*, the *Reward of Cruelty*, to be seen in two drawings, one at Windsor and one in the Pierpont Morgan Library (pl. 71 and pl. 72), where the corpse of the murderer is brutally dissected by doctors after the execution. Here, not for the first time, Hogarth uses a work by the Dutch immigrant, Egbert van Heemskerck, also of a generation older than himself, whose lively, grotesque scenes from contemporary life were reproduced by small English engravers and disseminated in England. This time Hogarth drew upon Heemskerck's portrayal of a dissecting scene, *Quack Physicians' Hall*. The general build-up and individual motives are similar in both, though Hogarth did not retain Heemskerck's animal imagery (as he had partially done in the *Beggars' Opera Burlesqued*). Heemskerck's very popular style was transformed by Hogarth into an uncouth, but most impressive, baroque.

Finally, since a thorough knowledge of the subject matter of Hogarth's works is indispensable for a complete understanding of his art, I should like to add that, in my opinion, the late Hogarth drawing, *Four Loggerheads*, preserved only in an etching by White which Oppé publishes (fig. 50), represents Lord Bute knocking together the heads of his political adversaries, Wilkes and Churchill (and, in addition, Churchill caricatured as a bear, as shown also in Hogarth's engraving, the *Bruiser*).

F. ANTAL
London, England

1. J. Meier-Graefe (*William Hogarth*, Munich, 1907, p. 100), when writing about Hogarth's portrait of Mrs. Salter, already suspected that the unusually bold and subtle color pattern of this painting did not derive from French art but preceded it. In my opinion, his supposition is undoubtedly

right.

2. In the light of this drawing by Hogarth, one realizes that Lebrun's workmen motives had probably, to some extent, already crept into the first scene of the *Rake's Progress*, *Tom Rakewell Taking Possession of the Rich Miser's Effects*.

The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, published by the Trustees. Volumes VII-VIII, 1944-1945; IX, 1946; X, 1947.

These post-war volumes of the annual journal of a major American museum are of extraordinary interest. They manifest a responsible commitment by the museum to the needs of international scholarship; they serve as the forum for work, not only of the staff of the museum, but also of art historians in general; and they yield a reassuring index to the maturity and vitality of contemporary American research in the humanities.

It is a commonplace that the art museum in the United States serves the functions of an educational institution, and that the pedagogical mission has differentiated American museum practice from European antecedents. This insistence upon overt educational services has sometimes endangered the status of the art museum as a center of humanistic research. Scholarship has ended with the verification and expertise of the objects to be acquired. After cataloguing, the work of art enters a routine of display and appreciation so demanding upon the time of the museum staff that serious investigation may be indefinitely deferred. These practices in turn affect the selection of staff; the curator must be an activist and docent rather than a productive scholar.

Such a contracting spiral of showmanship has happily failed to affect the work of the Walters Art Gallery. In the three volumes under review, twenty-five articles appear. Every one of them brings order, clarity, and new understanding to complex and difficult problems of form, of technique, of expression, and of function in the work of art. Each study arises from an object or group of objects in the collection; ten of the studies are by staff members; the range is from sculpture and painting to armor and magical knives; in no case is old matter served up without fresh interpretation and exacting analysis.

The distribution by field is the following. Ten papers are given to Mediterranean antiquity (including Egypt); seven to mediaeval objects; three to Renaissance and Baroque works; one to American painting; and one to non-European art (Chinese textiles).

Of the three valuable papers by George Steindorff on Egyptian archaeology, one is especially interesting for its new observations upon the continuity of sculptural traditions at the critical passage from Dynasty XXX to the works of the early Ptolemaic period ("Reliefs from the Temples of Sebennytos and Iseion in American Collections," VII-VIII, 1944-45, pp. 39-59). In the same volume, Dorothy Kent Hill brings together a variety of evidence for the interpretation of the trousered barbarian costume of Hellenistic and Imperial antiquity ("Bracatae Nationes," *ibid.*, pp. 75-81). The handsome fourth or fifth century lapis lazuli eagle in the Walters Gallery has been studied by Dorothy Miner and Emma Edelstein in an article that brings together conveniently a great number of sources on the material and the form ("A Carving in Lapis Lazuli," *ibid.*, pp. 83-103). Emeline Hill treats the

question of Etruscan imitations of Greek sculptural style, pointing out phases of imitation, of reminiscence, of adaptation ("Etruscan Votive Bronze Warriors in the Walters Art Gallery," *ibid.*, pp. 105-124). Of the widest general consequences in the ancient field is the study by Berta Segall ("Realistic Portraiture in Greece and Egypt—A Portrait Bust of Ptolemy I," IX, 1946, pp. 53-67), with its fresh interpretations of the development of late classical and Hellenistic portrait style. In this volume, Dorothy Hill indicates and analyzes the unusual aesthetic quality of a rare group of Roman potteries of the Augustan period ("Roman Jugs with Barbotine Decorations," *ibid.*, pp. 69-79). In the succeeding volume, Dorothy Hill also discusses the question of the bronze called Dispaten of the Gauls, untangling its complex material history, and questioning the identification ("Dispaten of Gaul," X, 1947, pp. 85-89).

Among mediaeval studies, four papers treat the sculpture and painting of the fifteenth century in northern Europe. Justus Bier attributes and dates an imposing group with Anna at the Walters ("An Anna Selbdritt by Riemenschneider," VII-VIII, 1944-45, pp. 11-37) in a magnificently illustrated article. Martin Weinberger adds another item to the repertory of fifteenth century sculptors' models, this one assigned to the school of Jacques Morel, after 1469 ("A French Model of the Fifteenth Century," IX, 1946, pp. 9-21). Elizabeth Packard and John Kirby, finally, condemn the usual restorers' practice of cradling old painted panels by the process called *parquetage*, and describe their own treatment of a *Flight Into Egypt*, attributed to a South German workshop. Their remarks upon *parquetage* continue earlier ones in the same journal by David Rosen. The main point is that *parquetage* destroys evidence on panel construction ("The Structure of Some South German Panel Paintings—A Problem in Conservation," X, 1947, pp. 91-97). Earlier mediaeval manuscript studies are present: Kurt Weitzmann has published an exemplary description, analysis, and correlation of an important Mt. Athos manuscript of the eleventh century, from which one leaf is in the Walters ("The Psalter Vatopedi 761—Its Place in the Aristocratic Psalter Recension," X, 1947, pp. 21-51). Another manuscript, of the thirteenth century, illustrating the text attributed to Conrad of Hirsau, is the subject of the study by Arthur Watson ("A Manuscript of the Speculum Virginum in the Walters Art Gallery," X, 1947, pp. 61-74). Of permanent value to students of Byzantine sculpture will be the publication of photographs of the important examples borrowed from Turkey for the exhibition of Early Christian and Byzantine art held at Baltimore in 1947. The notes and photographs give compact information (Marvin C. Ross and Sherley B. Hobbs, "A Portfolio of Byzantine Sculpture from Istanbul," X, 1947, pp. 75-83).

Italian painting and French sculpture each command a short article (William E. Suida, "The Adoration of the Shepherds by Bernardo Strozzi," IX, 1946, pp. 103-105; Gertrude Rosenthal, "Additional Bozzetti for the Aeneas Group," VII-VIII, 1944-45, pp. 127-130). Heemskerck and David Teniers the Younger add to these seventeenth century studies. The Dutch

Romanist's *Panoramic Landscape* of 1535-1536 is restored to him after an old misattribution as "The Seven Wonders of the Ancient World by Paul Bril" (Edward S. King, "A New Heemskerck," VII-VIII, 1944-45, pp. 61-73). In Stephen Vincent Grancsay's unusual essay, "Arms and Armor in Paintings by David Teniers the Younger," IX, 1946, pp. 23-40, the studio paraphernalia of the painter in arms and armor are carefully analyzed, and identified with specimens now exhibited in the museums of Vienna and Brussels. Confusion between two French eighteenth century enamellers named Bourgoin is clarified by Marvin Ross ("A Snuffbox with Enamels," X, 1947, pp. 98-101).

Technical and stylistic analyses are brought to the difficult subject of Washington's sittings to Gilbert Stuart in the masterly article by Edward S. King ("Stuart's Last Portrait of Washington—Its History and Technique," IX, 1946, pp. 81-96). Here the modern resources of the art historian all enrich this popular and endearing topic in American portrait iconography.

The only study of a non-European object is the one by Schuyler Cammann ("A Robe of the Ch'ien Lung

Emperor," X, 1947, pp. 9-19). Brilliant illustration and a rich iconographical analysis distinguish the article.

The Walters Art Gallery is not alone in maintaining a journal of such great excellence in the service of its collections. At least three others can be mentioned—in Providence, at Detroit, and in San Francisco. But the number of major museums in the United States exceeds four. No similar journal of the exploration of civilization by museum curators exists in the largest collections and in the greatest cities. It appears that one of the necessary conditions for the development of civilization is being fulfilled at Baltimore, Providence, and Detroit, but not in Chicago, Washington, and New York. The people fulfilling this necessary condition are occasionally attacked for their residence in ivory towers. To quote a biologist writing recently upon this situation in a context of scientific research, "... something like an ivory tower is clearly needed. A good, cheap, light, portable model could surely be produced in plastic; it is an essential educational instrument."¹

GEORGE KUBLER
Yale University

1. G. E. Hutchinson, "Marginalia," *American Scientist*, XXXVI, 1948, p. 429.

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

- ALAZARD, JEAN, *Piero della Francesca*, Paris, Librairie Plon, 1948. Pp. 59; 28 pls.
- An Exhibition for Modern Living*, A. H. Girard and W. D. Laurie, Jr., with an Introduction by E. P. Richardson and articles by John Kouwehoven and Edgar Kaufman, Detroit, The Detroit Museum of Art, 1949. Illustrated Catalogue.
- Berner Kunstmuseum. Kunst des frühen Mittelalters*, Berne, 1949. Pp. 149; 32 pls.
- BRODERICK, ALAN H., *An Outline of Chinese Painting*, Forest Hills, Transatlantic Arts, Inc., 1949. Pp. 40; 50 pls. \$3.75.
- CHRISTENSEN, ERWIN O., *Popular Art in the United States*, London, Penguin Books, 1948. Pp. 31; 32 pls. of which 16 in color.
- COPERTINI, GIOVANNI, *Nuovo contributo di studi e ricerche sul Parmigianino*, Parma, 1949. Pp. 32; 30 figs.; 1200 lire.
- D'ALBANELLA, GRAZIANO, *Venetian Drawings, XIV-XVII Centuries*, New York, Paris, London, The Hyperion Press, 1949. Pp. 98 of which 79 pls. \$2.50.
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